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Christian Americanization

A Task for the Churches

Charles A. Brooks

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ORGANIZED PLAY AIDS AMERICANIZATION

1. Park games and contests convey American ideals to Chinese and other children of the newcomers.

A street party creates the community spirit that draws together the new members of Uncle Sam's Family.

CHRISTIAN AMERICANIZATION

A TASK FOR THE CHURCHES

BY

CHARLES ALVIN BROOKS

SECRETARY, CITY AND FOREIGN-SPEAKING MISSIONS
OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME
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To the Memory of

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

Who Exemplified the Principles

This Book Endeavors to Interpret

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FOREWORD

UNIFICATION of effort for a common cause is perhaps the most significant trend of the day. In accordance with this modern spirit, two agencies which have formerly issued home mission text-books have united this year in publishing one book. These agencies are the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education Movement, which, as is well known, represents the interests of the Home Missions Council.

The theme of this book is one which is giving great concern to our national government and to all those agencies and people who realize the necessity of quickened effort toward national unity. It is an especially important theme at this time, when America occupies so conspicuous a place in world influence and power, while within her own borders press social problems of largest magnitude.

One language, one flag is much—but it is not enough for the highest national unity and expression. There must be such an appreciation of and participation in the spirit of America as shall release the largest spiritual values for the betterment of the social order in the United States, create a compelling national conscience capable of making this country fine and strong in self-control, and give it exalted conceptions and standards of human relationships. Only through the contagion of Christian thinking and living can this be accomplished. The church of Christ must assume a dominant place in this effort and address itself definitely with profound earnestness and purpose to this mighty task. It is with these deep convictions concerning the relation of the church to Americanization that *Christian Americanization: A Task for the Churches* is sent forth.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

INTRODUCTION

DOWN at Land's End is an interesting house which bears the legend "This is the last house in England." On the south side of the house one finds another inscription which reads, "This is the first house in England."

Much depends upon the point of view. Every intelligent American has "views" on the subject of Americanization and the status of the people whom we class indiscriminately as "foreigners." This book is a plea for the Christian and universal point of view, which the author believes is not only wholly consistent with the truest Americanism, but the only point of view which is truly consistent.

Migration has been the habit of the race from the dawn of history. It has been one of the most potent factors in the development of the race and in the shaping of the social life and institutions of the peoples among whom the newcomers have settled. The most radical migratory movement in history is American immigration. America has been built up by a process of immigration. Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, as well as Ellis and Angel Islands, are in the long view of history alike landing stages for prospective new Americans. It is of great importance that we shall understand that America is not yet finished. She is still in the making. In the light of recent events we need to restudy our history, that we may have a true perspective by which to understand present-day affairs. It has become easy for

us during the past four years to think in international terms. We need not only the international point of view, but what is more fundamental—the universal, that is, the Christian point of view.

The universal point of view will enable us to understand that America has a missionary destiny. We shall be able to think of all races with which we are dealing as the children of God and recognize the obligation of the stronger to serve the weaker. It will enable us to see our generation against the background of history and to see all history in the light of the unfolding purpose of God to establish his kingdom in the world. If we can gain and steadily hold this point of view, we shall not be content to think of the foreigner as many of us have been accustomed to think of him; but against the background of his past, with its repression and lack of opportunity, we shall see our national task as world service, in the interest of world unity, under the sway of the principles and ideals of the kingdom of God. Only then shall we make real the poet's vision, when he beheld:

"...the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;
Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

CHRISTIAN AMERICANIZATION

A TASK FOR THE CHURCHES

CHAPTER I

THE PRESENT ISSUE

NOT long ago the editor of *Viereck's Weekly,* in resentment against an article which had appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly,* referred to that magazine as "a curious ghost of a forgotten America."

The Atlantic, a little time before, had modestly called attention to its one hundredth anniversary. It might, therefore, naturally suggest the ghosts of forgotten things, the fashions and customs which pass with the years. But the valiant defender of the German fatherland evidently meant this innuendo to reflect not so much upon the magazine as upon that America of which *The Atlantic* has always been so truly an exponent. The taunt presents a startling challenge. We are forced to ask ourselves honestly: Is that America whose spirit and ideals are reflected in a magazine like *The Atlantic* a vanished or vanishing America? Has it been or is it being replaced by an America truly represented by *Viereck's Weekly?* Who are the typical Americans: the essayists and poets, the scholars and statesmen, who represented *The Atlantic* of the past generation, or men like the editor of *Viereck's Weekly"?* This is what lies under the

surface of the present issue. This is really the heart of it. This is the spiritual significance of Americanization.

America's Judgment Day. The war arrested our attention and focussed it upon the vital question of national unity. It did not so much create this issue as it disclosed and accentuated it. Now that the war has ended, the issue is unchanged.

For a number of years clear-sighted and socially minded men and women have discerned the issue and have sought to arrest public attention and arouse the public conscience to its meaning. Before the war the government had been making a fresh study of conditions growing out of immigration. Labor leaders had agitated for restriction, but they were suspected of selfish motives. Social workers and missionary leaders had sought to enlist the interest of their constituencies with some degree of success. But Josiah Strong used to say that the average man cannot see a crisis until it has arrived; and this has been true regarding this issue with which we are concerned.

Now, at last, the nation is fully awake. It is not so certain, however, that it appreciates the significance of the problem or understands the deep fundamental issue involved or the principles upon which these problems must be solved if they are to be solved right.

Generous Hospitality. In one hundred years we have admitted more than thirty millions of people to our shores. In more recent years some restrictions have been enforced by which patently undesirable elements might be debarred from entrance. But speaking in general terms, our doors have been very wide open, especially on the eastern frontier.

Now the wisdom or unwisdom of this hospitality, so freely accorded to all the people of the world who had the means to come, is being put to the supreme test. The war revealed the extent to which America has succeeded or failed in assimilating these alien elements and moulding them to her standard. There were many evidences, which had long ago convinced those who had eyes to see, that many of these newcomers were untouched by the wholesome American influences and were still as foreign as the day they landed. But how completely out of touch they were, the nation was not able to comprehend until a crisis was precipitated by the war.

There is another side to this. There is much gratifying and heartening evidence that leaves us not without hope. But we must focus our attention upon the weak spots in our national life which have been brought to light by the war.

Foolish Optimism. The war has shown us the folly of easy-going complacency. We had taken many things for granted. We had assumed cheerfully that just to breathe the air of America or to tread the soil of America was guaranteed to work a miracle, to effect an instantaneous change whereby a man or woman, reared under wholly different conditions, was certain to become an American. It was supposed to be an automatic process. Was not America a "melting pot"? We were assured that, while we went gaily about our business of making money and having a good time, the "melting pot" could be relied upon. We quoted glibly instances of splendid transformations of men who had arrived abscure immigrants and later had become leading

Americans. It was assumed that these were typical cases, and so we lived on in a fool's paradise. The war has cured us of absurd optimism.

Indifference. But something worse than absurd optimism has been disclosed. The war has shown us our criminal indifference. For as a nation we have been largely indifferent. Much of our optimism was a salve to our conscience for our wicked neglect. As long as this thing did not touch us too closely, we could remain comfortably undisturbed. If we employed immigrants, we did not concern ourselves with what happened, so long as there was an ample supply of cheap labor to be had when it was needed. We had no anxiety. What unemployment involved, how the immigrant lived, what his presence signified to the life of the community, and the grave peril of our neglect; all these things did not cause us much concern.

Now many of those who were most indifferent have been transformed into the bitterest enemies, blindly and indiscriminately opposed to everything that smacks of foreign antecedents. At least we are done with indifference..

Practical Democracy. The practical value of our democratic ideals has been put to a severe, if not to the supreme, test. When in 1776 we proclaimed our faith in democracy, we were a small and comparatively homogeneous people, largely rural and of high average intelligence compared with Europe. Now we represent an incredible number of racial stocks, a heterogeneous, polyglot, industrial people, with a startling increase in illiteracy in many of those states which had most to do with promulgating the Declaration. It is not strange that some of us have mis-

givings and some of us heartburnings, when we take a sober and impartial survey of the practical workings of our democratic system. But here, too, if we have vision and faith, the war has not left us without hope.

Loyalty Tested. Most important to the popular mind is the test which the war furnished for gauging the loyalty of the adopted sons of America.

The degree of assimilation which was apparent, the use of the English language, the participation in the life of the community in normal times; these things were no guarantee of heart loyalty to America. The declaration of intention to become citizens, which had involved an oath to the effect that the candidates for citizenship were "attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States," was no longer presumptive evidence of undivided allegiance. Citizenship, which had involved an oath that the citizen would "support and defend the constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and bear true faith and allegiance to the same," was no longer accepted as conclusive proof of loyalty. The supreme test had come, and what had seemed a remote contingency when the oath was sworn became, for hundreds of thousands, an agonizing dilemma.

Without doubt, this test has appealed tremendously to the popular imagination, and much injustice has been done to many true Americans who were under the necessity of proving their loyalty because some others had failed to keep "true faith and allegiance." It is reassuring to our faith that for every man who failed to meet this supreme test thousands met it without wavering.

A Test of Sincerity. Further, the war has furnished a test of the sincerity of the older Americans. We have experienced an awakened interest in these matters which is truly gratifying. How genuine is our confidence in our institutions? How deep is our interest in this foreign humanity? How much will we sacrifice? What price are we willing to pay to save America from failure to meet her opportunity? We have honestly to ask ourselves: Does our new-born interest in the people of foreign birth arise from love or fear? Is it enlightened self-interest or a new vision of their worth? Is it repentance for past neglect or a new expediency? Is it because we need the immigrant in our business or because we have discovered that perhaps he may enrich the spiritual life of America and help us to realize our ideals? These are searching questions which we may not like to face but which we cannot escape. Sentimentality cannot meet this test. Nothing but genuineness and sincerity will avail.

Important Definitions. Americanization is the achievement of national unity for world service upon the plane of our highest ideals. It is an unwavering and united progress toward the goal of those ideals which we confess we have not yet attained, but for which we are still striving.

We need to see clearly that there are both national and local aspects, both ideal and practical bearings of this issue. In its larger aspects, Americanization means the extension of our ideals, of the American spirit, and of our language to every quarter and every community, until there shall remain no foreign colonies untouched by the full currents of our American life or out of harmony with the rest of Amer-

ica. In its local and more intimate aspect, in which it comes home to every one of us, Americanization is the extension and deepening of the community spirit until we shall, as a democracy, be able literally and spiritually to speak the same language and to cooperate for ideal ends.

Americanization means the attainment of a common meeting-place and the mutual recognition of the worth of all men and women of good-will who make up the community, regardless of their antecedents. On the part of peoples of foreign antecedents, it means the appreciation of what America stands for and a full and hearty acceptance of that standard. On the part of Americans of older stock, it means a recognition of the worth of these newer comers and an appreciation of their ability to enrich our American life. On the part of the new Americans, it means the unreserved acceptance of the duties, as well as the rights, of American citizenship and the responsibilities of an absolute and undivided allegiance to America. On the part of older Americans, it means a sincere and unselfish undertaking to embody, to interpret, and to practise the ideals and spirit of American democracy in all our relationships with the people we shall have ceased to think of as foreigners.

Confusing the Issue. Americanization is not a war issue. If the war had not occurred, the same necessity which we have had revealed so vividly to us would have existed. It has not passed with the passing of the war. The danger is that we shall let the whole matter drop now that the war is over. The war has made it both easier and more difficult to achieve our ideal; easier because it has revealed our weaknesses, more difficult because of the bitterness engendered.

Bitterness has not helped the most difficult situations, and of this we are to be more and more conscious as the tension relaxes.

Americanization is not the concern of any particular race. We have been at war with the Central Powers, but it is not merely some of the subjects of the Central Powers who have failed to measure up to the demands of the situation. Americanization is concerned with foreignism, of whatever racial stock or quarter. Let us not lose sight of this distinction, for it is important.

It is not merely a matter of language or easy familiarity with American customs. We shall consider the important matter of language in a separate chapter. What we need to rid ourselves of is the misconception that the use of a foreign language is presumptive evidence of an un-American spirit, or that the easy or natural use of English is a guarantee of the inner dominion and sway of the American spirit. Americanization is not a demand for the repudiation of anything in one's ancestral heritage that is not inconsistent with or alien to the spirit of America. This, too, is contrary to the general impression.

Americanization does not involve hatred or contempt of other nations, though there is a wide-spread misapprehension that it does. Many have misinterpreted the slogan, "America First," as the United States version of "Deutschland über Alles." Nationalism is not antagonistic to nor inconsistent with the truest internationalism. Many of the truest patriots are the missionaries of the finest world fraternity. Mazzini, the Italian statesman and patriot, has given this beautiful expression to the truth: "Every people has its

special mission which will cooperate toward the fulfilment of the general mission of humanity. That mission constitutes its nationality. Nationality is sacred." No man who truly loves his own country will despise or hate the country of his fellow man. A man's love of his own wife or children is the basis of his regard for the families of others.

Americanization is not the equivalent of nativism. Race pride readily degenerates into race prejudice. National pride may easily pass into that ignoble and wholly unworthy thing which we know as nativism; that is, a selfish exclusion from consideration and participation in our privileges of all people except those who by accident of birth were born in our country or in our state or in our locality. Nativism is a primitive instinct, unworthy of modern civilization. The Chinese used to call all others "foreign devils"; it was nativism which inspired the Boxer uprisings. The Greeks considered all others "barbarians." The savage regards a stranger as an enemy. In some sections of America this instinct persists. In one period of our history, nativism was made a political issue, and the American, or Know Nothing, Party elected some members of Congress on a platform which contained sentiments against "foreigners" which now have become freshly current.

Of all people in the world Americans should be freest from this selfish spirit. Yet it is well known that some of the most intolerant "nativists" were either themselves immigrants or are the sons of those who sought America as political or economic refugees. We have been told of a Boston man, proud of his ancestry, who was entertaining

a young Indian, a university graduate, a cultured Christian gentleman. The Boston man was unable to make the impression he desired and finally said rather impatiently, "You do not seem to appreciate the significance of the fact that my ancestors came over here in the *Mayflower.*" The young man replied, with a twinkle in his eye, we imagine, "I must remind you that my ancestors were on the reception committee."

It is of the utmost importance that we understand at the outset of our study that Americanization is not concerned with people of foreign antecedents alone. It holds a significant challenge for people of American ancestry. In fact, many of the best informed students of these matters are convinced that the crux of the whole matter is with the older Americans rather than with those who have sought opportunity and a new life here in America. Frances Kellor has stated this view of Americanization most clearly: "It seems to me that our real enemy is not an aggressive foreignism, but a passive, complacent Americanism... What we really need to fear is not that we shall be invaded by civilizations and ideals we cannot assimilate but that we shall fail to develop and perpetuate and extend to all Americans the civilization and the ideals we firmly believe to be American."[1]

Americanization, a Process. It is difficult for the average man to appreciate the fact that such a radical transformation as that involved in our conception of Americanization is a gradual and progressive achievement. There are men who understood and heartily appreciated the ideals and practical administration of affairs in America before ever

[1] Kellor, *Straight America,* p. 85.

they arrived, but these are proportionately very few. Others, whose knowledge of the world outside their native village was most meager, have idealized America and have been shocked and disappointed by the realities that any well-informed person would have expected to find. But there are many, and of these we must take serious note, who have been grievously and justly shocked by what America has proved to be and by conditions which true Americans would resent and repudiate if they only knew them. The disillusionment has been tragic. It is difficult for most Americans to understand this embittered attitude. Many of us heartily resent it and are in turn embittered toward the foreigner. Americanization, to many of the immigrant people, means the most superficial imitation of what they falsely deem to be genuine Americanism. We need at the beginning of our study to put out of our minds the possibility of any quick and magic transformation as meeting the requirements of Americanization.

What most of us lack is imagination. At the beginning of his administration as commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island, Frederick C. Howe said that his ideal was to introduce imagination into the management of affairs at that main port of entry. It is not only there that it is needed, but everywhere, when we are dealing with these matters. Americanization is not a mechanical process. One does not automatically become an American by becoming naturalized, learning the language, wearing American-made clothes, or imitating American fashions and customs. We must fix once for all in our minds the fact that Americanization is a spiritual process, and that spiritual processes

are only spiritually discerned and are often slow, indirect, and unconcious. When we insist upon that standard, it is to be feared that some people who proudly boast of a long American ancestry have never truly apprehended or embodied the American spirit.

National Unity. National unity is a relative matter and a progressive achievement. It will never be true, so long as human nature is what it is, that we shall all think exactly alike about matters social, religious, political, or about many others which are included in the spiritual life of the nation.

Probably the greatest relative unity that we have ever achieved has been in regard to America's participation in the war. Still, there have been very marked differences of opinion. There have been varying degrees of militancy and pacifism and some disloyalty. Yet for all practical purposes we have been a united nation. We were not united when the war began. One of the strong arguments used by the supporters of President Wilson in his campaign for a second term was that he had kept us out of the war. Yet when the hour of our entrance into the war struck, it found us fairly united. With the second year and the presence of our army in France, with the clearer appreciation of the issues which were at the heart of the struggle, we became more and more fully united. We shall not be agreed about the peace terms or policies of reconstruction. But one thing is attested by our national experience; that time and education work miracles of unity in a democracy, with free speech and a free press guaranteed.

When facing a matter like Americanization, we need the

perspective of our history from earliest colonial days. We are not inclined to allow sufficient time for the development and maturity of great movements. The colonies passed through many trying and stormy experiences before July 4, 1776, when they were able to promulgate the Declaration of Independence. English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Swedish, German, Portuguese, all had to learn to act together. Protestants and Catholics, Jews and Quakers had to find a common basis of cooperation. New England, New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas had to recognize a common destiny. It was only through a long series of conflicts that a degree of unity at last emerged. When the initial victory was won, we know what contentious debates ensued until one after another the states ratified the constitution. What sectional jealousies, suspicions, and distrust were engendered we cannot forget. Then came the most tragic stage in our progress toward national unity, culminating in a resort to arms, in order to decide the issue between state and federal sovereignty. A generation elapsed before that decision received the degree of spiritual ratification which has twice enabled us to stand firmly united in a great conflict. If we can keep this historical lesson in mind, it will enable us to rely with assurance upon democratic processes and to strive patiently for the fruition of our hopes.

We shall try to make clear that this progress toward national unity calls for patient and wise education and demands its full price of unselfish devotion to our country and full faith in our fellow men and in the democracy we profess. It is absolutely essential that we believe in the efficiency of spiritual processes and that we be willing to trust them.

Resort to fiat or force will only retard the process. These are the resources of smaller minds and weaker faith.

Some Fundamental Principles to be Kept in Mind. America is a sacred trust which has been bequeathed to us by those who have gone before and which we in turn are to pass on to those who come after us. A nation is more than land area. It is a spiritual entity. It exists in the hearts of the people. We have seen heroic Belgians and Serbians dispossessed of their national territory but unbeaten in their spirits, and wherever they may have been driven, they have carried their nation with them. The Czecho-Slovaks have had no independence for three hundred years, but they never allowed the fires of the national spirit to be extinguished and at last have come into their Promised Land.

A national ideal is a progressive and expanding ideal. Our institutions and conceptions have undergone, with the passing generations, that expansion and progress which are characteristic of a spiritual ideal. It is this which makes democracy what it is and insures growth. But the chief point to be remembered is that this trust we enjoy to-day represents sacrifice and endurance, heroic and unselfish. In the book of Judges we read that after the death of Joshua "all that generation were gathered unto their fathers; and there arose another generation after them, that knew not Jehovah, nor yet the works which he had wrought for Israel." Americanization is the endeavor to conserve our national trust and administer it for those who come after us in the spirit of the founders and in the light of our best traditions. Our children must live in a nation which we are now making for them.

Our Right to Our Ideals. We in America have the right, which we readily accord to every other nation, to enjoy the type of government and the social institutions which suit our taste. They may not be the best in the world, but if we like them, it is our privilege to enjoy them. The European Sabbath, the free use of liquor, the treatment accorded to women by the Slav and Oriental, and many other customs which could be mentioned may be, in the judgment of some who desire to live in America, vastly preferable to our conception of these matters.

This opens up many questions of great importance as to how much modification in our standards we should make to suit the tastes of newcomers. We lay down this fact as a fundamental principle: America has a right to her own civilization and her own culture and an equal right to reject the culture which any may endeavor to thrust upon her. There is much that we can learn from other nations. We have already derived much from them, and we cannot close our minds to new light; but it is essential that we shall be permitted to determine what is consistent with our ideals.

A Unique Situation. America has not been the only country with a "foreign problem." Until the break-up of Austria and Russia, continual unrest characterized the national life of those countries. Canada has a "foreign problem": the French population, enjoying rights guaranteed by treaty, is an unassimilated mass in the body politic of Canada; French is the commercial, social, and ecclesiastical language of several hundreds of thousands of the citizens of Quebec and Eastern Ontario.

But there is a fundamental distinction and contrast be-

tween the foreigner in America and the Bohemian, Slovak, Rumanian, and Italian in Austria-Hungary. The latter have been living in their ancestral homes under the dominion of conquerors. The immigrant in America is a voluntary guest of America, to be accorded the rights guaranteed by treaty with the country of his origin until he becomes a citizen. When he becomes a citizen, as he may of his own free choice, he voluntarily renounces allegiance to the former sovereignty under which he lived and takes a voluntary oath to "uphold the constitution and defend America against all enemies, foreign and domestic," and to maintain "true faith and allegiance" to the country of his adoption. This status of the new American, by virtue of its voluntary nature, cannot be ignored and must not be lost sight of.

The Foundation of Democracy. Democracy is not simply a form of government. It is the spirit of society and extends to all the relationships of national life. "The true foundations of democracy," Professor John R. Commons well says, "are in the character of the people." In an address in New York City a few years ago Governor Whitman declared: "It is not the government that makes the people free. It is the people who make the government free. It is not the government that makes the people good, but the people who make the government good."[1]

We have been warned in a startling way by Russia's experience that, in order to make democracy safe for the world, there must be preparation for democratic responsibilities. Education and training are necessary. The thirteen colonies did not decide upon a republican form of government in an academic way. Professor Roland G. Usher points out

[1] Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America,* p. 6.

that it was only after long practise in managing the local colonial affairs that it became evident that democracy was expedient. No one came to America to establish a democracy.[1] In admitting newcomers to the privileges and duties of citizenship—in fact, in admitting any one to these responsibilities and rights—the fundamental importance of training, intelligence, restraint, integrity, experience, all that goes to make up character must be taken into consideration.

United, We Stand. We have witnessed the collapse of Austria and the break-up of Russia. In those countries there was no spiritual unity. What semblance of unity existed was due to the iron control of autocracy. The inevitable has happened, although it was long over-due. In a democracy the truth of Jesus' words concerning 'a house divided against itself' is perfectly self-evident. As Professor Commons says, "To be great, a nation need not be of one blood; it must be of one mind...If we think together, we can act together."[2] Democracy involves acting together, and the essential prerequisite for united action is united thought. To quote President Wilson's Fourth Liberty Loan speech, we must be able to "speak the same language, literally and spiritually."

Is it possible, with the various racial stocks, the many different heritages, the multiplicity of handicaps that are involved, is it possible for America to achieve national unity? Is it possible for us to overcome class consciousness and the survivals of race consciousness, to overthrow the inevitable barriers and bridge the separating chasms which exist, and to emerge one people, indivisible, with liberty and justice enjoyed by all? The answer is involved in the answer to an-

[1] Usher, *The Rise of the American People,* Chap. V.
[2] Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America,* p. 20.

other question. Is it possible for America to realize the promise of the past, to be true to her trust and attain to the goal of her ideals, while at the same time she is called upon to educate and assimilate millions of men and women of foreign birth and their children. There are some of us who believe that this task may be her salvation, if she can meet it in the right spirit. If America has moral and social vitality, spiritual vision, and unselfish devotion to humanity, she will rise to the opportunity which is afforded her and so realize the manifest destiny which is her share in God's world plan.

CHAPTER II

AMERICA'S GENIUS FOR ASSIMILATION

COLUMBUS is popularly credited with having discovered America. As a matter of fact, everybody must make that discovery for himself. It is perfectly possible for people to live out their little lives and never really discover America. The Indians lived here for generations before the white man came, but they never discovered America's resources. One may travel the length and breadth of the country and never understand the genius and spirit of America. As we said in the preceding chapter, a nation exists in the consciousness of the people. Some of the keenest appreciations of America have been uttered by people who were not born here. A classic authority on our political institutions was written by an Englishman.[1]

As a nation, we have experienced a spiritual awakening, a revival of "Americanism." A new self-consciousness has come to us as a by-product of the war. In the past we have habitually taken things for granted. We have been conscious of wealth and power. We have been fed up on more or less flamboyant statements of our greatness. While in a vague way we have been conscious of our ideals, but few of us would be able to defend our faith against a critic of America. We would die rather than intentionally sur-

[1] James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth.*

render our ideals; the danger is, we may betray our country unwittingly or sell our birthright for a mess of pottage, without realizing that we have made the bad bargain.

There is much carping criticism of America by radical elements which is irritating to us and arouses bitter resentment. In the long run, however, this criticism will do us good. We cannot content ourselves with vague generalities; we must each set forth on a voyage of discovery and find America for ourselves. Love is not blind. If we love our country, we will not shut our eyes to her failures but will be the more sensitive to imperfections just because we love her. In this chapter we shall endeavor to point out some of the qualities which constitute America's genius for dealing with new elements which have been received into her national life. It is earnestly hoped that this brief study will provoke further and more serious consideration of the larger subject of America's genius and spirit, and the part she has to play in the reconstruction of the world on democratic principles.

An Unique Undertaking. The most daring adventure which any nation has ever undertaken is the admission into its national life and to a participation in the responsibilities and rights of citizenship, of millions of people, speaking foreign languages, having been trained in different social customs, and having lived under different political institutions.

Other nations have had to deal with racial elements foreign to the dominant race. Other nations have large numbers of foreign residents and refugees who have played a rather conspicuous part in their literary or artistic life. But

no other nation in modern history has had an experience comparable to that of the United States. The fact that she has so largely escaped the bitterness engendered in other nations, that she has not been obliged to resort to compromises, adjustments, or accommodations, as others have been obliged to do, in order to preserve even a semblance of peace, calls for explanation.

Not Subjugation. In the preceding chapter we have pointed out the unique status of the immigrant in America. He is not a subject living under conditions imposed through conquest by an enemy who has beaten him in battle. That has been for centuries the status of millions of people in Europe, and many of them have come to America to escape intolerable conditions consequent to subjugation. They have suffered so much that we must take great pains and be very patient in making clear their present status here and the radical difference between the moral aims of Americanization and their past unhappy experience.

The status of the Slovaks of Hungary will serve as an illustration of what assimilation by the process of subjugation means. The Magyars came from western Asia, a strong, brave, and capable people, and after a fierce struggle settled in the fertile plains of Hungary. They subdued the Slovaks who for long years had lived in the north under the shadow of the Carpathians. The Tatra region is the beloved land of the Slovaks, whose temperament is radically different from that of the proud and stern Magyar. The experience of the repressive measures by which the minority element, the Magyars, have imposed their language and their will upon these simpler people would turn an American into

a savage and implacable foe. When we are discussing Americanization, in dealing with representatives from Hungary, we have to overcome a fear that Americanization is the equivalent in the United States of Magyarization in Hungary. That process in Germany, as it has concerned the Poles, French, and Danes, has been the same story with local variations. We shall have occasion to refer to some of these repressive measures more specifically. Let us make it clear and unmistakable that assimilation, which is our ideal in Americanization, is not subjugation.

Not Incorporation. There are two interesting illustrations of incorporation of a foreign body into a national body politic. Swedes differing in blood and language from the Finns, have lived for many years in the western part of Finland. This is their ancestral home, but it has long been cut off from Sweden by conquest. They have enjoyed great freedom and have retained their own language and customs practically undisturbed. They have only in occasional instances attempted to learn the Finnish language.

The French in Canada we have alluded to. Protected by treaties which the Canadian Government has always respected, there live hundreds of thousands of French people, mostly Romanists, who have been incorporated into the body of the Dominion. Though they are represented in Parliament and enjoy all the rights of other citizens of Canada, they have persistently resisted assimilation. The disturbances connected with conscription during the war disclosed that, although there were glorious exceptions, the French Canadians as a people, are an incorporated but still unassimilated body.

Better Than Adjustment. Adjustment is a term which has been proposed as a substitute or compromise to soften the alleged arbitrariness of the idea of assimilation.

One of the most interesting illustrations of political adjustment is Switzerland. That sturdy nation is composed of three racial units: French, German, and Italian. The distribution, numerically and geographically, of these races is such as to assure respect for each other's rights and traditions. Switzerland is a federation of French-speaking, German-speaking, and Italian-speaking cantons, based, very largely, upon the principles of our own governmental system. A phase of this which has much historical importance is the religious adjustment involved. Catholic and Protestant cantons have learned to cooperate. While the Catholics and the Protestants are not all in separate cantons, in earlier days the predominance of each in separate cantons created problems of adjustment which have since been settled on a satisfactory working basis.

But however much we admire the achievement of Switzerland we would not wish to entertain that conception of adjustment as America's ideal. Adjustment is all that may fairly be expected of an alien resident. An agent of a foreign commercial house would adjust himself to the situation which he found in the country of his residence. He would quickly adjust himself to business methods, social habits, and if possible, to the language. This would simply be good business. He would be free to join a club of his fellow countrymen and enjoy all the advantages of association of his home folk. He would be free to attend public worship conducted in his mother tongue, if he could find a church of his

choice. These privileges are conceded in most parts of the world.

But citizenship is a more vital matter, especially in America. It calls for a different attitude of mind. It is not simply a matter of privileges and protection conferred and enjoyed. It involves the whole life of the nation as a partner and partaker. The ideal which America has cherished from the beginning is an assimilation of new elements, which would result eventually in complete spiritual identity both with America at large and with the local community. Keeping in mind the long view of the matter, every student of American history must be impressed with the fact that, notwithstanding some exceptions, this ideal has been largely realized. No one desires a dead level of monotonous repetition, whereby every American shall be an exact replica of every other American. What we should cherish resolutely and strive for unwaveringly is that complete, sympathetic identification on the part of all with the life and spirit of America socially and politically, so that we shall be spiritually one nation, one people.

We cannot attain this ideal so long as there exist "foreign" settlements: colonies and areas which are distinguished by a single predominant racial stock; an imported civilization, transplanted, and not indigenous to America; a survival of old world traditions and habits and points of view; a "bloc" that politicians shall be able to reckon as the "Irish vote" or the "German vote" or the "Swedish vote" or the "Jewish vote." This survival of racial self-consciousness which resists all American influences is but the reproduction on American soil of those other concep-

tions of racial relationships which historically have meant discord and prevented the highest and most perfect national unity in other lands.

A New Race. We are familiar with several racial blends. Very few races are of pure or unmixed stock. Perhaps the first illustration which occurs to us of this blending of different racial families into a new race is that of the Anglo-Saxons—a blending which is of more than ordinary interest to us.

England and the English, as we think of them, were a transplantation. England first existed in what is now Schleswig in the center of the Danish peninsula. The Anglo-Saxons were a race constituted out of the Jutes in the north, the English in the center, and the Saxons in the south. All these races were of Teutonic stock, speaking the Anglo-Saxon language and living under the same social and political institutions. There were no kings in their continental home, and justice and public affairs were settled somewhat after the order of the New England town meeting, but usually in the open air under the "moot tree." The British Isles had been peopled by Britons, Picts, and Scots. After the withdrawal of the Romans to defend Italy against the attack of the Northern hordes, the Picts, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons had harried the sea and menaced the Britons. The Britons by generous bribes succeeded in breaking up the league which bound their enemies and united the Anglo-Saxons to themselves as allies. Ebbfield, on the Isle of Thanet off the coast of Kent, was their "Plymouth Rock" of 449 A. D. There the Anglo-Saxons landed, to become, after two and a half centuries of bitter and relentless con-

flict, the possessors of the land. Their customs and institutions supplanted those of the Romans and Britons, and the Britons, as a race, disappeared.

An interesting contrast occurs to us, which cannot be without significance. This adventure upon a career of conquest resulted in the creation of kings, a class of "nobility," and a class of slaves among a once democratic people. Soon after the beginning of the conquest there appeared an Anglo-Saxon king in Kent, another in Wessex, and also one in Sussex. After a lapse of more than a thousand years, immigrants from that island, descendants of these ancient conquerors, still further blended by the infusion of Norman blood, established upon this continent a nation without a king and without a class of titled nobility. Here they were to restore that democratic principle which their forefathers had forsaken by becoming a military people. The Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Britain by conquest. The race which we know as American has established itself here through colonization, industry, thrift, and peaceful infiltration.

That Americans are a new race is accepted practically by all students of American social and political life and institutions. Speaking of the nation as a whole, Americans are not, therefore, Anglo-Saxons, although we constantly refer to ourselves in that way in popular speech, and the Anglo-Saxon influence has been the most determinative in our national history. A humorous instance of this popular use of the term comes to us out of the war. A Negro soldier in the United States army was execrating the cruelty of the enemy and brought his passionate outburst to a close by ex-

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IN NEW YORK — THE CITY OF MANY NATIONS

1. The ends of the earth come together in the ice-depot line.
2. The daily noon-hour throng of foreign-speaking garment workers on lower Fifth Avenue.

claiming, "Just wait until us Angry Saxyums get over there; we'll fix 'em!" As a government we are the United States of America. As a nation we are the American people. One thing is clear, and that is the chief point under consideration: Americans are a new creation. It is essential that we keep this fact clearly in mind when we are considering the type or form to which newcomers are assimilated. We are not asking that Latins and Slavs who come to America shall become Anglo-Saxons, but Americans. As America is not a Western England, so Americans are not Western Englishmen, but a new race.

Creating Type. We have had a number of fascinating biographies which have set forth vividly the experience by which individuals have become Americans. We have need of a popular and readable national biography which will tell the more fascinating story of the making of the American, the creation of the new race.

The new race is an amalgam of several distinct racial stocks blended together under the dominating influence of the English descendants of those early Anglo-Saxons. There were at least fourteen—some say eighteen—different languages spoken on Manhattan Island as early as 1664. By the time the Declaration of Independence was promulgated there were established along the Atlantic seaboard and east of the Appalachian settlements of English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, French, Swedes, Moravians, Germans, Spanish, and Portuguese. The significant fact for us to note is that the population of the thirteen colonies, numbering less than 4,000,000, was overwhelmingly "Teutonic in blood and Protestant in religion."[1]

[1] Commons, *Races and Immigrant in America.*

Dr. Laidlaw, secretary of the Federation of Churches of New York City and celebrated statistician, is authority for this illuminating racial analysis of that early population: "We are...a nation derived from the 3,172,444 whites and 757,181 Negroes enumerated in the census of 1790. The white population of the nation in 1790 was made up of 2,906,414, or 91.6%, from the nations comprising the Entente Allies of to-day [1918.] Of this percentage .6% were French, and the remaining 91% English, Scotch, and Irish. The present Germany contributed only 176,407 or 5.6%, and of the present neutrals the Dutch contributed 78,959 or 2.5%, and all other whites .3%."

Whether it was because the English were superior in numbers or in native force is not known, but it is a fact that they dominated that early racial blend and in time the Saxons and Jutes disappeared and the English became a distinct type with a distinct language. It was not by mere accident that the English succeeded in colonizing the new world where others failed, and at last became the dominant element in the colonies. The Spanish left their imprint on Central and South America, but they made only slight impression on the colonies of North America. It would lead us too far afield from our present study to follow the interesting inquiry as to the reasons for this difference, but it is an important field of study for Americans who are interested in the subject. By the time of the Revolution, the English recognized that in the colonies there had arisen a distinct type that was different from the English of the British Isles. The selection of the best among early settlers, the underlying purpose in settlement, the climate and geography of the country, the

experiences and exigencies of pioneer life have all been credited with determining the type. This, too, is a fascinating study for those who are interested in tracing the influences which are still operating in American life.

True to Type. That we are a hybrid people has often been said of us by others in a disparaging tone, and sometimes our own people have spoken regretfully in the same strain. This is a matter of opinion and cannot be settled arbitrarily. But we need to recognize the fact that the type which was created, and was still embryonic in 1776, has been maintained for nearly one hundred and fifty years.

The nation has grown from 4,000,000 to more than 100,000,000. The national area has increased from the narrow strip along the Atlantic Coast across vast states to the Pacific and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. We recognize sectional characteristics, and we believe that these are advantageous and keep us more sanely balanced. The contributions that the Dutch, French, Scotch, Irish, Scandinavians, and Germans have made are gratefully acknowledged, and we recognize that still other stocks have left their impress on American life.

Dr. Laidlaw has carried his analysis over to our day, and he has an important contribution to make at this point: "The United States had, in 1880, from the 10,189,429 immigrants of the years 1820-1850, 7,794,000 native-born whites of native parents, who included at least 2,927,000 of foreign grand-parentage. Our United States of July 1, 1917, was made up of 17.7% of post-Revolutionary grandparentage, from allied countries 10,856,430, from Germany and other Central Powers 8,125,378, from neutral

countries 2,599,512; or a total of 21,581,329—that is, 20.8% native whites of foreign parentage. On the date of the selective draft census computation, there were 14.1% foreign-born whites. These studies are summed up in an interesting table of our population, July 1, 1917, which is worth studying:

Descendants of whites enumerated 1790	38,828,000
Descendants of immigrants, 1820-1880	17,687,952
Native whites of foreign parentage	21,581,329
Foreign-born whites	14,662,261
Total whites	92,759,542
Indians, Negroes, Asiatics, etc.	10,875,758

The character and trend of our American life and institutions were naturally determined by the men and women who braved the hardships of pioneer life and who, obedient to their heavenly vision, brought forth upon this virgin continent a new nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created with equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and with a fair fighting chance to realize them.

Better Than a "Melting Pot." America is not a "melting pot." It is something far more human and vital, more divine and spiritual than that. What we need to keep steadily in mind is that the process of Americanization is not the reduction of all to a common denominator but the elevation of all to the highest possible plane; to consider that each race reacts upon the other to the enrichment of all; and to endeavor to realize that the various racial stocks, thus contributing, lose their separate and distinct identity in the building of a new entity, a new race, which shall be a demonstration, in this day of grace, of

the blood brotherhood of all men and the spiritual oneness of the sons of God.

The Secret. Such an achievement as this, which we have thus far realized approximately and still maintain as our ideal, is not an accident. It is not national conceit to say that it could only happen under conditions such as those which have obtained in America. And as this is the last "new world," it is inconceivable that it can ever occur again. Let us try to discover some, at least, of the factors which have contributed to this success.

Romantic America. America has been for millions a land of romance. That doubtless sounds strange to many of us who are unromantic and who love to call ourselves "practical and hard-headed." It is more than distance which has lent this enchantment. To be sure, there has followed all too often the bitter disenchantment, but to those who have persistently followed the gleam, the reality has proved at last to be more enchanting than the dream.

In the first chapter of Professor Usher's valuable book, *The Rise of the American People,* is a beautiful passage: "Homer placed the Elysian Fields, the abode of supreme happiness, in the West, the land of the setting sun. Out to those unknown regions where Phoebus Apollo stabled his steeds at evening, went Odysseus to talk with his father's spirit; out into the West, Virgil led Aeneas to see the dead heroes, riding and leaping in the green meadows under perpetual sunshine. The grim sagas of the Norsemen tell us how the dead chieftain was laid upon a couch on board his long ship; how the great sail was hoisted and how

the raven standard flapped sinister wings against the mast; how the flaring torches flung a beam of light to guide the ship on its last long journey out into the West. Some prophetic impulse led the bards to make the West symbolic of the hopes and ideals of the Aryan race... The dull eyes of struggling European peasants have for three centuries seen in the United States the Elysian Fields... Only from America came back word that Elysium had been found, a land truly flowing with milk and honey. The United States holds the unique and superb position of embodying for millions of men and women the racial vision of an abode of the Blessed in the West."

The Youth of America. We have been able to stand the strain of immigration because we are young. We have the vitality of youth, and with it the daring, the initiative, and the spirit of adventure. There are, of course, conservative elements in America, but Americans as a people are not conservative. The life of America is still fluid. Our institutions and our society are still virile and resilient. Foreign visitors usually remark upon our lack of dignity, our exuberant hilarity, our rather rough humor. We are "raw;" we have no "past" to speak of. These are qualities which are characteristic of youth, but one thing of which we are glad and for which we do not apologize is our age.

How young we are, most of us do not realize. In Seattle there is a monument marking the last frontier conflict with the Indians, and it bears a date of sixty years ago. It was only three years ago that Chicago University, one of the richest universities in the world, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The year before, Brown University was ob-

serving its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary and of course was worthy of the respect due to such antiquity. Harvard must have looked upon Brown's pretensions to age with some degree of amusement, for Harvard has attained a ripe old age of nearly three hundred years.

When we visit Europe, we begin to realize our own youth. University College, the oldest of Oxford's colleges, was more than two hundred years old when Columbus, trying to find a passage to India, stumbled upon America. If we visit the University in Cracow, we find in the quadrangle of the ancient library a statue to Copernicus, the famous student of that school who gave us our modern astronomical system. An American, looking about this beautiful Gothic quadrangle and seeking to reckon its age, is rather awed when he discovers that the charter of the old University was granted nearly a thousand years ago. Under such circumstances we begin to appreciate that it is because of her immaturity that America can stand the strain of immigration on such a scale and of such a character as we are considering. America is not finished. She is only just getting started, and the newcomers are fellow pilgrims in a quest upon which she has set forth with the spirit of undaunted youth.

America has plenty of elbow room. There is space for all who are fitted and willing to take their part in her life. If we compare the map of Europe with the map of the United States, we find that the two are practically equal in extent. According to the census of 1910, America had a population of 100,000,000. Europe at the same time had a population of 300,000,000. Montana is one of our largest states,

though not the largest. The fastest train which traverses it requires more than twenty-four hours to cross the state. Hungary, which is larger than Austria, is considerably smaller than Montana. Yet the population of Montana is less than 500,000, while the population of Hungary was, before the war, 21,000,000, and Austria at the same time had a population of 29,000,000.

America's unmeasured natural resources have been brought to the attention of the world by the necessities of the war, as never before; and now it is estimated that for the returning soldiers still more millions of acres of uncultivated land will be brought under cultivation. America has room enough for many more millions who might help to develop her resources; but there is not room for a single man or woman who is not heart and soul one with America, loyal to her ideals and undivided in allegiance to her highest welfare.

A Land of Opportunity. America has been and still is the land of opportunity. Her name has become synonymous with a new chance and a better chance at the best which life has to offer. The doors of opportunity have been open to the most energetic newcomers.

In Cleveland one day, I saw a group of newly arrived immigrants crossing the Public Square. They were strange in appearance and aroused the usual amused comment. Walking just ahead of me, two men, whom I would have thought to be prosperous business men of the city, called attention to the group and chaffed each other. One remarked, "That is the way you looked when you landed ten years ago."

When I visited Cracow, I fell into conversation with the porter on the way to my hotel. Upon learning from what

American city I came, he asked me if I happened to know a certain man there who, he said, had emigrated to America from Cracow. I happened to know him as the president of the Chamber of Commerce. In turn, I asked the porter if he knew this gentleman's brother-in-law and found that he, too, had gone as an emigrant from the city of Cracow to my city. Now he is one of the city's leading and most respected business men. He chanced to be a neighbor of mine, and our daughters were chums. I doubt if the friends of either of these men ever thought of them as anything but native-born Americans.

But the boys and girls and the "common people" who do not become famous or get into public life, the thousands and hundreds of thousands who here have found themselves as well as opportunity; these are the real witnesses to America. In contrast to the "caste system" of Europe, which makes it difficult for any one to choose his trade or rise above the class in which he was born, America's opportunity has ever loomed large and beckoned to the ambitious.

A Land of Liberty. Neither America's youth, the spacious areas represented by her states, nor the opportunity that she offers to the ambitious sufficiently explains the genius which America possesses for assimilating the peoples of other lands. Nothing which we have cited is comparable to the position she holds as a land of liberty. The foundations of the nation were laid in the fundamental conviction that the divine right of human freedom was supreme above any claim of kings or a privileged class; that men were endowed with inalienable rights, political, social, and religious; that before the law all men were equal.

When these revolutionary doctrines were proclaimed in 1776, they stirred the profoundest aspirations in the minds and hearts of men all over the world. America's experiment has been a demonstration of the soundness of these doctrines not for herself alone but for the world. It is not too much to say that every step which humanity has taken toward human freedom and political democracy since that day has been made easier because of America's pioneering experience.

Political, social, and religious refugees have sought here an asylum from persecution and have either remained until a happier day should permit them to return or have helped to build here the nation which should become an example to the world, a sign and symbol for aspiring souls everywhere. We know the story well, that tale which never ceases to thrill us when it is told, how on this frontier of the world men have found what elsewhere had been denied them.

A personal experience of somewhat more than ordinary interest has led me to feel that the average native-born American of colonial stock has a wholly inadequate conception of this treasure of liberty. I was once the guest of a friend in the city of Brünn, the capital of Moravia. He asked me if I would be willing to lecture on Religious Liberty in America and assured me that, if I would consent to do so, he would secure a large audience for me. I had never spoken on that subject. I would as readily have thought of lecturing on The Air in America or The Grass in America as on Religious Liberty in America. But with a desire to be accommodating and agreeable, I consented.

My host was a wise man and knew I needed a tonic; so

he took me for an inspection of the old Speilberg, the most famous, or infamous, prison of Austria. It is a massive pile which crowns the heights above the city. The stone cannon-balls which the Swedes used when they sought to capture the citadel in other days may still be seen embedded in the walls. I was conducted through the various cells which have historic interest. In one, a nobleman had committed suicide; in another, a refined noblewoman had gone insane; from another, one had escaped and sought refuge with the Turks. A series of chambers still contained the implements of torture of the Spanish Inquisition and the Hussite Wars. But it was in the dungeon that the refinement of cruelty was perpetrated. The sewer which passed through these cells was arched about two and a half feet above the floor. At intervals of some four or five feet were openings like manholes. My guides explained that it was the custom to place the victims in these man-holes and so wall them in that, while having freedom above the waist, they could not otherwise move; there they were left, either to starve or to be eaten by the swarms of rats that infested the sewer. From this dungeon they led me to the office of the prison and asked me to register. My imagination was on fire, and I realized as never before what America had meant to the Bohemians and to other subject races in Austria. I wrote with much feeling, as I registered, "Charles A. Brooks—America, *thank God!*"

That night I spoke to the radical and progressive intellectuals of that city. I had expected a group of church people and did not know until afterward to whom I was speaking. As the meeting was about to open, an officer of the

government, in full uniform and with his sword dangling at his heels, appeared to censor the proceedings. I was to speak on one of the most dangerous themes which could be considered. Religious liberty is the acid test of all liberty. I am conscious that it was a very unworthy exposition of a great theme. Many times have I longed to have another chance. I do not know that I did any good or made any contribution to the cause of freedom, but this I do know: I am a better American for that experience and a better man, with larger sympathy and appreciation of the struggles and aspirations of men and women who have not had the priceless privilege that we in America enjoy and who have sought here the liberty elsewhere denied them. It is what America has meant to thousands as a land of liberty that has constituted her highest glory, for the greatness of a nation is not in her area, her material wealth, or her population, but in her ideals. We have come far short of our ideals, but we cling to them and will not relinquish the determination to achieve one day all that we have dreamed.

Because of their restricted lives, their repressed aspirations toward liberty, people from all the world have sought America. The Pilgrims, Quakers, Irish, Germans, French Huguenots, Moravian and Bohemian Brethren, Catholics, Jews, Italians, Hungarians, Russians; all have found America a haven of refuge. We have been determined to build here a nation that all the broken souls of men may seek with the certainty that here they may find not only refuge but brotherhood. We must see to it that each American shall have the honor of this land so much at heart that he will not tolerate any stain upon it, even though it be but a poor

immigrant who is wronged; that each shall be an embodiment and exponent of this spirit. Only so shall we be able to make good our proud and worthy boast that this is indeed a land of liberty.

On a recent Fourth of July in Madison Square two boys spoke for America. One was of the lineage of colonial Americans; the other was of the lineage of recent immigrants. They told this story of America's genius:

First Boy. "I am an American! My father belongs to the Sons of the Revolution, my mother to the Colonial Dames. One of my ancestors pitched tea overboard in Boston Harbor. Another stood his ground with Warren. Another hungered with Washington at Valley Forge. My forefathers were Americans in the making. They spoke in America's council halls; they died on her battle-fields; they commanded her ships; they cleared her forests. The staunch hearts of my ancestors beat fast as each new star was added to our flag. Keen eyes saw her greater glory, the sweep of her fields, the man-hives in her billion-wired cities. Every drop of blood in me holds a heritage of patriotism. I am proud of my past. I am an American!"

Second Boy. "I am an American! My father was an atom of dust. My mother was a straw in the wind, to his serene majesty. One of my ancestors died in the mines of Siberia; another was crippled for life by twenty blows of the knout; another was killed defending his home during one of the massacres. The history of my ancestors is one trail of blood to the palace gate of the great White Czar. But then the dream came—the dream of America! In the light of the Liberty torch the atom of dust became a man,

the straw in the wind became a woman for the first time. 'See!' said my father, pointing to a flag that was fluttering near by. 'That flag of stars and stripes is yours. It is the emblem of the Promised Land. It means, my son, the hope of humanity. Live for it, die for it, if need be.' Under the open sky of my new country I swore to do so, and every drop of blood in me will keep that vow. I am proud of my future. I am an American!"

The genius of America is summed up in those two declamations. Our future is secure so long as we can hold in balance those two ideals: fidelity to the best in our past and fidelity to our mission to humanity. The men who laid the foundations of this republic were prophets. Nathan Hale's regret was not that he should not live to enjoy freedom, but that he had but one life to give to the making of the Promised Land.

The closing verses of that wonderful eleventh chapter of Hebrews should be kept ever before us: "And these all, having had witness borne to them through their faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect." We cannot be true to our past unless we are true to our mission to humanity. The past must be justified by the fidelity of the present. We are heirs and stewards of that past and will, in turn pass on to those who come after us the nation that we hold in trust. We must see to it that we do not dissipate that trust or squander our patrimony, to the impoverishment of the America that is to be.

CHAPTER III

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

THE popular interest in the use of foreign languages has been such as to make this phase of Americanization one of the most important topics of discussion. There are very natural reasons for this intense interest.

The question is not as simple as it appears to some and cannot be disposed of summarily by legislation or executive decrees restricting the use of any language but English. There are many who advocate such direct and drastic action and who are impatient with any delay or compromise; but we cannot settle a matter of such far-reaching import and with as many ramifications as this involves, except by deliberate and well-considered measures. In order to make progress toward our goal, we must be able to carry with us all the fair-minded people who are directly and vitally concerned in these matters. The admirable statement of principle which we quoted from Professor Commons in our first chapter may serve us as a text for our consideration of this subject: "To be great, a nation need not be of one class; it must be of one mind. If we think together, we can act together, and the organ of common thought and action is common language."

We believe that national unity lies deeper than unity of language. Men may speak the same language and have

nothing else in common. Men may speak different languages and yet be spiritually united. But other things being equal, there is far greater likelihood of being able to think and act together if we can understand one another's speech. We might achieve an apparent unity which would be superficial and artificial. We seek a spiritual unity which is far more difficult of attainment. This higher spiritual unity is dependent upon our ability to do the simpler thing, to achieve unity of language.

The Experience of Other Countries. Without going unnecessarily into detail, it will be illuminating for us to recall the experiences of other countries in regard to this matter of a common language.

In the French section of Canada, the French language is the language of business, of the school, and of the church. Business men, especially traveling salesmen, must be bilingual if they wish to do an extensive business. The French people cling most tenaciously to this privilege, which has been guaranteed by treaty.

In Belgium there is a curious situation in respect to the language. There is no Belgian language. The Belgian population is divided between the Walloons in the south and the Flemings in the north. French is the official language of the government and of the army, although this is not in accordance with the wishes of the Flemish, who constitute five eighths of the population. The Walloons in the south speak a language which is largely French (Romanic), influenced by the Celtic, but almost unintelligible to a Frenchman and of no literary influence. The Flemings, in the north, speak a language differing but slightly from the Dutch.

The Flemish element, which centers culturally in Antwerp, has had the greatest artistic and literary influence. There is a kind of rainbow shading of languages from The Netherlands through Belgium to France. The question of languages in Belgium has, in the past, been the source of much irritation. The German war governor, during the period of occupation, attempted to split the country and array the two elements against each other, but he did not succeed. This experience illustrates the fact that nationality is deeper than language or blood.

In Switzerland there are three official languages, a fact which must be taken into consideration in all representative and appointive arrangements. For example, there are nine federal judges, who are divided into groups of three each, so as to give representation to the three official languages. There is no national standing army, but each canton has its own army, speaking the official language of the canton. It is one of the wonders of nationality that Switzerland has maintained such a strong and impregnable front against all separatist movements. Woodrow Wilson has said, "They . . . show the world how Germans, Frenchmen, and Italians, if only they respect each the other's liberties as they would have their own respected, may by mutual helpfulness and forbearance build up a union at once stable and free."[1] Many awkward situations are naturally created by three official languages, and the accommodations necessitated by this fact account for many anomalous features of the Swiss constitution.

Austria-Hungary needs only to be recalled as a horrible example of an artificial state which over-stayed its time in

[1] Wilson, *The State*, p. 30.

history. The language question there was a fertile source of discord and an occasion of repressive and tyrannical measures which we will do well to keep in mind in any program of Americanization. Germany's dealings with the French, Danish, and Polish languages in the annexed territories are, likewise, an illustration of the difficulties involved and should serve as a warning to any nation which aspires to full spiritual unity.

These citations illustrate two facts: first, that language is a matter to be handled as delicately as a high explosive; second, that a difference in language within a country creates artificial distinctions which are at best awkward and are always a fertile source of discord.

Illuminating Facts. It is naturally impossible to state with exactness how many people in America are unable to speak or read the English language. The Bureau of Education, which is the government agency for promoting the teaching of English, is authority for the statement that there are more than 3,250,000 persons over ten years of age who do not understand English. The National Americanization Committee, one of the pioneers in the movement to spread the use of English, states that there are more than 2,000,000 persons over twenty-one who do not understand English. We are informed that 1,275,902 foreign-born men were registered under the first selective draft, and the amazing lack of ability to understand English on the part of thousands of our soldiers has become a matter of common knowledge. Of course, many who "speak English" are unable to read a newspaper and have a vocabulary so meager that it is barely sufficient for use in the shops.

There are many areas in our country outside the large cities, where a foreign language is the language of the neighborhood and English is foreign. These settlements represent a serious menace to complete nation-wide assimilation, because of their insulation from contacts that might otherwise be relied upon to spread the use of the English language. Social and missionary workers in our large cities report uncounted thousands who, after many years of residence in this country, do not know English. These suggestive facts are sufficient evidence of a situation which is worthy of most serious consideration.

The Foreign Language Press. The wide-spread influence of the foreign-language press is attested by many signs. The power it wields for good or for ill is immeasurable. It appeals strongly to the public imagination and seems sinister, partly because the vast majority of us cannot read the various languages. Many of the sheets merely repeat news culled from the English papers and wield no political influence. The editorial office is frequently a dingy little room, and the editors lead, financially, a precarious hand-to-mouth existence. But there are many ably edited and strongly financed papers that exert a powerful and wide-spread influence. The government reports a circulation of periodicals of more than 1200 written in foreign languages. There are 600 German-language periodicals published in the United States. There is a well-organized Foreign Languages Press Association with offices in the Woolworth Building, New York City. In 1915 this Association reported 764 different periodicals which were registered in the organization, including 130 dailies. The combined cir-

culation of these papers aggregated 9,000,000. Doubtless, this list represents some duplications. Nevertheless, the figures are impressive and suggestive.

Foreign Language Societies. In any enumeration of conditions representing the wide-spread use of foreign languages as the medium of intercourse, we must include the many societies which help to perpetuate the use of these languages among other customs associated with the life of other days and other lands. The churches which use a foreign language in their public worship include both Protestants and Catholics. A majority of the Jewish synagogues in our great cities use either Yiddish or some other foreign language. In any large city directory the section devoted to the classification of societies instantly impresses one with the limitless capacity for organization possessed by all immigrant groups.

Foreign Language Schools. Foreign-language parochial schools are to be found in all of our cities and represent both Catholic and Protestant faiths. In some western communities the public schools were conducted in foreign languages up to the time of our entrance into the war. No analysis of the factors to be considered in dealing with the problem of foreign languages would be of great value which failed to take into account the seriousness of the parochial school situation as it exists to-day.

In twenty-eight of the leading cities for which we have figures, attendance at parochial schools has increased from ten to fifteen per cent. more rapidly than in our public schools. In Cleveland, two years ago, there were more than 27,000 children in parochial schools; this number in-

cludes nearly half the children of school age. At the same time in Chicago, there were 300,000 children in the public school, while there were 112,000 in parochial schools.

One racial group may stand as an illustration of the difficulty experienced in bringing American influences to bear upon the children of immigrants who do not enter the public schools. There are, in round numbers, 3,000 Lithuanian children in the parochial schools of Chicago. These represent a Lithuanian population of 50,000 in the city. It is startling to be informed by competent authorities that about three years ago there were only twenty Lithuanians in the high schools of Chicago.

As concerns the parochial school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Newark, New Jersey, and scores of other cities with a high percentage of foreign-born population, the situation is such as to give intelligent Americans the gravest concern. The report of the Educational Commission of Massachusetts stated: "Many of these parochial school-teachers have but a limited knowledge of the English language; comparatively few speak it fluently; some do not speak it at all." There are a few higher institutions of learning which are conducted in foreign languages. Some of these are for the training of ministers and missionaries. There is a Finnish Socialist college in Minnesota and at least one Polish college for general education. There are also some Scandinavian higher schools.

The Issues Involved. We must face this matter honestly and without prejudice. Hatred of a foreign language just because we cannot understand it, is weak and foolish and is unbecoming to intelligent minds. The lan-

guages of other lands represent the mother tongues of some of the world's greatest philosophers and artists and have been the vehicle of lofty and ennobling utterances. Let us rid ourselves of any animus which remotely suggests dislike for foreign languages, *per se,* and face the issue on grounds of national unity and community of interest. We are neither intolerant nor provincial nor nativistic when we press the absolute necessity of the use of English for the sake of national unity. It goes without argument that, unless there is a common language, there cannot be perfect assimilation upon the spiritual basis which we have set forth as our ideal for America. Let us make this clear and unmistakable and repeat it until no one can misunderstand us. However, we must grant to every newcomer the privilege of retaining the use of his mother tongue; to speak it, to read it, to pray in it, and to sing in it. We would be bigoted, indeed, if we assumed a position of intolerance and repression. Our position should be not negative but positive. Our objective should be not the repression of foreign languages but the knowledge and use of the English language.

We have seen that it is possible to establish a working basis of national unity with more than one language; but we appreciate at once the artificial nature of the adjustment required to operate under such a system. In America the question is not a matter of two languages or three, as in the case of Switzerland, but of fifty or more. Surely no one would be insane enough to advocate making this officially a polyglot nation. We are not discussing an academic question nor dealing with a problem in abstract philosophy. We are thinking in terms of community life and unity of action.

We have in this vast country many natural and inevitable barriers to unity of action, without adding artificial ones. It is sufficiently difficult to make one's self understood when people speak the same language and have the same general hereditary background. If to this common human limitation must be added another, if we must overcome the barrier of a foreign speech in any attempt to discuss our community problem, we are driven to despair. We cannot hope for assimilation and all which depends upon it unless we can achieve unity of language.

A Conserving Force. Foreign languages are a factor —perhaps we may say the most potent factor—in the perpetuation of foreign ideas. We have been officially and solemnly assured, upon the highest authority, that German *Kultur* cannot be appreciated except through the medium of the German language. No translation can sufficiently interpret the spirit which inheres in the language. We may discount this considerably as prejudiced testimony and remark, in passing, that there is a very real and almost inseparable connection between language and ideas. Ludwig Fulda is quoted as saying in his *American Impressions,* "Germanization is synonymous with causing to speak German, and speaking German means to remain German." For every language the claim may be made that to speak the mother tongue is to be held true to the ideas which are associated with it.

It is reported that a German church in Pennsylvania recently considered changing from the German to the English language. After some younger men had raised the question and had argued for the change, the matter was settled by

a resolution which made this suggestive statement, "German has been the language of this church for 175 years, and as long as the grass is green and the sky is blue, it will continue to be." It is evident that, in that church, conservation relies upon language for maintaining the *status quo*.

Without here discussing the question as to what concessions should be made, let us keep clearly in mind the fact that the use of foreign languages constitutes an actual resistance to the forces of assimilation. It may not be a deliberate or intentional or conscious resistance, but in effect it is a barrier to complete and perfect assimilation. This is not true of any one language more than another, but it is true in a general way of all foreign languages.

Unity in Family Life. One of the tragedies which develops in the families of immigrants is the rift between parents and children, due to the question of language. If the children attend the public school, they learn English quickly and as quickly forget the mother tongue of their parents. They soon resent the popular taint connected with their being "foreigners" and come not only to renounce their heritage but to despise their parents. The appalling lack of discipline, the breakdown in respect and reverence among the children of the foreign-born in America, is a condition which every social and missionary worker views only with pain and misgivings.

The mother is usually the conservative member of the family, religiously, socially, and nationally. The husband, less affected than the children, is, none the less, much more easily inducted into the knowledge of American ways and the mysteries of the English language; so the mother is the

Photo by A. T. Beals

Neighborhood mothers' clubs are an effective means of helping foreign-born women meet the problems of home life in America.

one who suffers most keenly. We lose the most valuable asset for our national well-being when we weaken the unity and influence of the home life.

Duties of Citizenship. In a democracy we are likely to put the primary emphasis upon human rights. The constitution makes very explicit provision for safeguarding our rights against all infringement or abridgment. Our persons, our property, our spiritual liberties are all hedged about with every precaution against violation. But *duties* are not so clearly defined. The duties of supporting the state by paying taxes and rendering military service are specified, but these, with obedience to law and order, practically exhaust the list.

A knowledge of the English language is now a condition for naturalization. One wonders why any one has ever been permitted to become a citizen without fulfilling this condition. There is a wide range of duties to the community which are vital to its welfare but are all extra-legal. Moral and social obligations, the sense of social responsibility, intelligent appreciation of the issues at stake; all these spiritual rather than legal duties are not enjoined by the constitution, but they are essential to a sound public opinion and are, therefore, of the utmost importance in a democracy. As every socially minded person has learned by experience, it is difficult enough, even under the most favorable circumstances, to keep the morale of the community high and steady; but when we interject the element of diversity of tongue, our democracy becomes another Tower of Babel. This matter of language is not one of sentiment but of democratic efficiency and common sense.

We are an easily deluded people, if we imagine that we

can rise to the full measure of our democratic power and ideals when we are careless or indifferent concerning public and community responsibility. We have misgivings about the equitable distribution of wealth, but we cannot settle a question like that until we can settle a more vital one—that is, the equitable distribution of individual responsibility, the duty which every citizen owes to the republic.

Educational Problems. The vexed question of foreign languages has been a very live one wherever the policy concerning public schools is under consideration, and especially in those states where there is a large percentage of foreign-born. The principle of state control in education is everywhere recognized as fundamental and essential to the welfare of the state. This is peculiarly important in a democracy. It would seem to be the most natural thing and the evident duty, on the part of the state, to insist upon all instruction for children being given in the language of the country. If state control rests upon the right and duty of the state to train its future citizens, it certainly is the part of wisdom to see to it that the training shall be given in the language of the nation, whether that training be given in public or in private schools. There is very little dispute about this general principle. The difficulty is encountered a little further on. There the question becomes: Has any immigrant group a just claim upon which to base a plea that instruction in the parents' mother tongue be given to children in the public schools?

The aggressiveness and zeal on the part of certain racial groups which cling tenaciously to their own languages have raised this issue, and in many localities it has become very

acute, involving a principle which we must endeavor to clarify. If the claim of one group that provision must be made in the public schools for its children to receive instruction in their parents' mother tongue is justified, has not every other foreign group an equally valid claim that similar provision be made for its children? If German must be provided, why not Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, or Swedish? Personally, I have advocated that the children of parents who are unable to speak the English language should be at great pains to retain the knowledge of their parents' mother tongue for the sake of family unity, but it does not necessarily follow that it is the duty of the state to provide such instruction at public expense. It is the privilege of any family to provide such instruction for their children, but it is not the duty of the state.

The cultural value and utility of foreign languages and the provision which should be made for them is a question for educational experts. We should be clear in our minds on the central issues. We must insist that the perpetuation of foreign languages for sentimental reasons at public expense is not consistent with national unity. And of far greater importance, the general instruction of children in both public and private schools must be given in the language of the country.

Religious Problems. The use of a foreign language in religious worship is one of the most delicate phases of the language problem. The experience of being for any length of time in a foreign country, hearing only a foreign tongue spoken and surrounded constantly by foreign customs and unfamiliar sights, enables one to appreciate what it means

to pass from these sights and sounds into a church where one's native tongue is spoken and join in worship with people who are "own folks." If any of us have had that experience, we have discovered an unsuspected depth of appeal in the familiar scripture and songs, and a stirring of emotions which was doubtless a revelation to us. The religious sanctities lie so far beneath the surface, are so vital and elemental, and so involve our deepest emotions and highest and truest sentiments, that they are even more vital than the question of national unity. They are as elemental as the love of parents and wife and children. They cannot be denied. They brook no restraint.

We have not forgotten that we have just stated the principle of the conserving force of a foreign language. We are not indifferent to the fact that probably no single agency or institution exercises so powerful an influence in conserving the ancient heritages and authorities as does public worship in the mother tongue of the foreign-born. Most of our home mission boards employ missionaries or aid in supporting pastors who minister to their own racial group in a foreign language. The policy which has been pursued has been justified on the grounds that we were meeting the religious needs of these people through the only possible medium. Now we are beginning to ask ourselves the question whether this initial stage has been unduly prolonged.

Deliberation Needed. In the past we have, as a nation, been indifferent to the deep significance of such matters as we are here considering. It is important, therefore, that we should approach the problem now in a spirit of fairness and deliberation rather than in passion. We cannot

undo the harm and mischief of the past by rushing blindly to the opposite extreme. We only create new difficulties by pursuing such a course. Popular sentiment is more easily swayed by words than by ideas. When the passions of the multitude are deeply stirred, a catching phrase has more influence with the multitude than the wisest reasoning. We have need of all the wisdom and restraint we can summon in order to avoid the dangers of hysteria. We must be prepared to take all measures with a deliberation born of clear vision and thorough appreciation of all practical phases of the issue. We must act with that settled purpose becoming to high-minded people who, undeterred by difficulties, seek a worthy goal and persist long after the attention of the crowd has been distracted and its passions have cooled.

Important Distinctions. In considering the question of languages, we have endeavored to make clear that its significance lies in what it indicates. It is symptomatic of what is beneath the surface.

We must distinguish between three different phases or aspects of this question, not only because each phase indicates something significantly different but because each calls for a different course of action, a different remedy. These phases represent three distinct groups of people with whom we must reckon. The phase which has received the greatest public attention and which, in a way, is the most critical and serious, is the aggressive propaganda for perpetuating and extending the use of a foreign language for the sake of sentiment and the culture which it carries. This has primarily to do with the German language. The second

phase is the strong sentiment on the part of large numbers of people of foreign antecedents which has made them cling to the use of their native language in religious worship and in those social gatherings which keep alive and glowing the memories of their fatherland. These people, almost without exception, are able to speak and read English, but they feel a certain pride and a sense of duty in conserving the language which is their mother tongue.

The third phase has been receiving earnest attention, because we have come to see that we have heretofore been too indifferent to its significance. This concerns almost exclusively the immigrants who have come to America in more recent years. While multitudes of these are still unassimilated, they have not attained that highly organized race consciousness and group separateness which makes itself felt in the other groups to which we have referred. Any sweeping statements regarding the use of foreign languages will probably be incorrect, and any salutary measures for dealing with them will probably fail of accomplishing their end, unless they distinguish clearly between these groups.

Enemies in America. As a people, we have been so completely indifferent or so easy-going and tolerant that many of our fellow citizens are not quite able to understand the meaning of the volcanic eruption which has taken place. There are thoughtless and irresponsible people who are "more vocal than influential" (as the President has said of another group) and who may have done the cause of national unity harm because of their zeal. But sober and thoughtful people feel deeply on this question. They resent the un-American propaganda and ideals cherished by fanatical men and

women from other lands, who have been accorded every right and privilege of American citizenship and yet have worked tirelessly and with consummate skill to disrupt our national unity and perpetuate race consciousness and separateness. The people who have done this are, at heart, enemies of America. We have no desire to prolong unnecessarily the bitterness of the war, now that it is over, but we shall have lost much for which we fought if we fail to heed the lesson that the war has taught.

To return to the first group, which engages in aggressive propaganda, we come to the activities of the National German-American Alliance. While the Alliance has been dissolved by the government, we can hardly believe that the persons who composed it have been regenerated. We must discriminate and recognize the fact, which we gladly admit, that the Alliance did not represent a majority of the Americans of German descent, nor the best element in that racial group. It had as one of the most important points in its program the introduction of the German language into the public schools. Local societies were urged to use their influence and take the necessary practical steps to compel school boards to put German into the curriculum. The very active Federation of German Societies in Nebraska was held up as a model because it had brought about the enactment of a law making the teaching of a foreign language compulsory when fifty parents of children demanded it. In Omaha, where there were 3,500 children taking German, the official visitor of the Federation was delighted to find with what a fine Berlin accent the children were speaking and with what fervor they sang "The Watch on the Rhine."

Indiana and Ohio had enacted similar laws. Chicago was reported to have 20,000 children in the grades studying German. The Alliance was endeavoring to make a knowledge of German a requirement for admission into state universities or accepted as a substitute for Latin. A representative of the Alliance, who was an inspector of this phase of the organization's work, reported that, wherever these schools prospered, the children remained German in spirit and in sentiment to the third generation. It was discovered in some of the camps that there were second generation "Americans" of German descent who, when drafted, were unable to speak English. The Alliance also had a committee on text-books to make certain that German history and *Kultur* were fairly presented from the German point of view.

We cite these facts that we may understand the reactions which followed upon the awakening of the American population in these states to a full consciousness of the significance of the propaganda. Six states have either restricted the use of the German language or forbidden it altogether in public assemblies. This was a war measure. German text-books have been examined and thrown into the scrap-heap in many cities all over the country. Either the circulation of German language publications has been forbidden, or dealers have refused to handle them. There has been a wide-spread diminution of the use of all foreign languages, and the most drastic measures have been advocated to restrict or abolish the use of any language but the English.

Loyal Americans. The second group, which clings to

the use of the mother tongue in worship and in social gatherings, includes many loyal Americans of German antecedents, and among them there has been a voluntary and very wholesome reaction. It is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy just how many churches have either entirely abandoned the use of a foreign language or introduced English and now carry on their work in both languages. This has been markedly true of Scandinavian people in certain sections. In services of public worship, the English language has been used for the first time or greatly extended. Many foreign-language publications have voluntarily suspended, and a reaction in favor of English has set in strongly in every section of the country.

Measures of Doubtful Wisdom. There can be no doubt that the restrictive measures which have been taken by executive order will be reflected later in legislation. It is, therefore, important that we consider very carefully just what measures should be taken.

In the first place, the laws which have compelled the introduction of a foreign language into the curriculum of a public school should be repealed. It is our duty to be alert and to resist every form of aggressive propaganda for extending the use of foreign languages or fastening such languages permanently upon any institution. As we have already said, this is a matter of private privilege and not a public duty. True culture does not require a press agent and a political lobby. The German language must stand with French and Spanish and ask no special favors. Who ever heard of a French propaganda to force French culture on America? Yet educated people in America have, as a rule,

been more influenced by French ideas and culture than by those of any other foreign nation, with the exception of England.

But there is great danger in legislation of a restrictive or compulsory nature, because of the psychological reaction which may follow and which would most certainly defeat the end desired. The policy of Germany and Austria-Hungary has been identical at this point. By harsh measures, they forced the national language upon their subjects, and they enforced the restrictions relentlessly. In Germany, the use of any foreign language in a public assembly was forbidden except by special permit, and then twenty-four hours' notice was required and two representatives of the police must be present and report the proceedings. The repressive and harsh measures to which Count Apponyi, minister of public education in Hungary, resorted would have turned some of us into anarchists. I have spoken in Austria with a censor of the police sitting with open note-book to report what I might say. Thomas Capek, in his book, *The Slovaks of Hungary,* tells us that Slovak students in the theological school who were found conversing in their mother tongue were severely punished. It would be unwise for us to resort to such measures, and every true friend of democracy in America should be as vigilant to guard against such foolish coercion and restriction as he should be against the menacing encroachments of foreign-language propaganda itself.

The Governors of several western states issued executive orders which were designed to seal the lips of all foreign-speaking people of those states. One of these orders was more like an edict of a czar or a kaiser than a proclamation

of a governor of one of the United States. Of course it was intended to be in effect only during the war. The executive order was as follows: First: English should be and must be the only medium of instruction in public, private, denominational, or other similar schools. Second: Conversation in public places, on trains, and over the telephone should be in the English language. Third: All public addresses should be in the English language. Fourth: Let those who cannot speak or understand the English language conduct their religious worship in their homes.

The utter futility of such proclamations to accomplish the desired end should be obvious. Their actual effect is to fasten more firmly the bands of the past and to endear the native speech which is being persecuted. It would make our national language hated and despised and produce an animosity which we could never overcome. A man who could give only a poor exhibition of his ability to speak his mother tongue or that of his parents, and who had no desire to perpetuate it, would be roused to champion the cause of the language placed under the ban if any attempt were made either to force the use of the English language or to forbid the use of another language. During the war we became amazingly and unprecedentedly obedient and submissive. We were determined at any cost to win the war. But we are not ready—or we should not be—to surrender our cherished liberties and resort to autocratic measures to enforce an artificial unity which has no value.

We must remind ourselves that our ideal is not a formal and artificial national unity but a moral and spiritual unity, and we need constantly to repeat that such a lofty goal can

be attained only by spiritual processes. While we must be vigilant against aggression and unremitting in our resistance to every insidious enemy of our unity, we must remember that unless we can convert the patrons of foreign languages to our ideals, we shall fail. If they are incorrigible, they should seek another home where they can enjoy their kind of culture unmolested by Americanism. If the president of the German Alliance and his fellow Germans are still of the same mind, they should renounce any pretended citizenship and retire from America. Then might it be said, as was written of old, "They went out from us, because they were not of us."

Potent Incentives. If we refuse to resort to coercion, there is all the more reason for making certain that the forces upon which we must rely are well understood and well organized and that we are prepared to meet our duty and opportunity to the full. There are incentives which are sufficiently potent and upon these we must place the major emphasis.

Without doubt, foreign languages serve a valuable purpose and must be relied upon during a period of transition while candidates for American citizenship are in course of training. We also must admit that there are people too old now to make the effort to become proficient in English, and as we have been partly to blame for past neglect, we must be patient with them. Therefore, many of our churches will continue to have some part of the service or an occasional service in the language of the mother country for these older people. Even under such circumstances, much will have been gained when a foreign language no longer

receives a major recognition and has dropped into a minor place. It must pass entirely with the passing of the necessity which existed when this older generation was to be considered. Some mission boards have decided to refuse grants of aid to any church which does not introduce the English language into the service. No missionary should hereafter be appointed who has not a sufficient command of English to minister to all the community.

The pastor of a certain Swedish church has recently introduced the use of English and has formally stated that he considers it the duty of his church to minister to the entire community regardless of racial antecedents. That church has become Americanized. The failure to introduce English into the services of public worship among foreign-language groups is due to a drifting policy rather than to deliberate intention. I heard "America" sung in Italian recently by a congregation to whom I spoke in English without an interpreter. The pastor was not antagonistic to the use of English, nor were his people. They simply had not given any thought to the matter. There can be no excuse for conducting Sunday-schools among children of foreign-speaking parents in anything but English, provided competent teachers can be secured.

Rights of the Young People. The younger people have long resented the selfish domination of those elders who have been short-sighted in retaining the mother tongue for sentimental reasons, and who have insisted that their children submit to their wishes. The time has come when the older people must yield and be content with an occasional service or a part of the service in their mother tongue.

The business incentives to learning English have been well set forth by leading industrial concerns which employ large numbers of foreign-born men and women. It may not be fair to make the use of English absolutely a condition of employment, but it is certainly logical and wholly just to make some knowledge of English, and further study to perfect the limited knowledge, a condition for advancement.

The work of the educational department of the Y. M. C. A. in military camps has been productive of unmeasured good in the matter of teaching English. A very happy idea was conceived and put into effective operation by the Neighbors' League, which is especially interested in meeting this problem in the home. It furnished the chaplains and Y. M. C. A. secretaries with mailing cards to be filled in by husbands who were in military service. The card stated that the man was learning English and urged his wife to do the same, in order that together they might take their part in the life of America. The home service department of the Red Cross has also been able to use this incentive and enlist practical assistance in teaching English to foreign-born women, mothers and wives of men in service.

A new consciousness of being a real part of the nation, a new knowledge of and pride in its achievements, have come to foreign-born men in military service as well as in the industrial service and through the general education which was a part of the Liberty Loan propaganda. All these incentives for complete identity with America have made it easier to interest people of the newer immigration in studying English and have aroused the older groups, who have been at heart loyal to America, to take aggressive measures

to familiarize themselves with the language of the country. Such natural reactions, of which we must take full advantage and which we must be prepared to utilize, have vastly more promise than any sort of coercion.

Teaching English. This phase of the subject is worthy of an entire chapter and deserves fuller exposition as to materials and methods than our limitations of space will permit. This service naturally concerns the newcomers and is a constructive measure of the greatest importance.

For several years prior to the war, intelligent friends both of America and of new Americans had been gravely concerned with the lack of progress toward assimilation on the part of the great masses of the more recent immigration. It was, of course, no new idea to teach English to foreigners, but such teaching had never been popularized, no adequate provision was made for it, no incentives were furnished, and very little, if any, well-adapted material was provided for teachers who were amateurs but who saw the need and were ready to serve.

The needed material and the popularization of a scientific and efficient method adaptable to the needs of pupils of the various degrees of intelligence and to the ability of the teachers, have now been created. The Y. M. C. A. has developed and furnished charts and advanced material, so that they have been able to cooperate in evening classes and clubs as well as shop classes. Most of the public night-schools have clung to text-books slightly modified but not so well adapted to the use of beginners. Several books in civics and history, with biographies of great Americans, have been published and are well adapted to the needs of more

advanced pupils. At least two different adaptations of Biblical and religious material have been published.

One of the most important fields for the extension of this work is the home, where the teacher must go with the lesson if it is to be given at all. The practical difficulties which debar the mother from attending a class anywhere outside the walls of her home have aroused resourceful women, and they have now undertaken to provide lessons in the homes. There is one missionary teacher in New York City whose entire time, energy, and skill—and she has a vast deal of the latter two qualities—are devoted to home teaching. She has enlisted scores of socially minded friends who have demonstrated beyond any doubt the possibilities and value of this service. Neighborliness and home service have come to be recognized as the only possible means by which the teaching of English can be extended to reach the women in the homes.

CHAPTER IV

ARRESTED ASSIMILATION

IN the course of this study we have sought consistently to get at underlying facts and forces and not allow ourselves to accept as final and conclusive the easy interpretations which lie upon the surface. There is no arbitrary scale by which assimilation may be tested or upon which progress can be registered. At almost any gathering of socially intelligent people, an interesting and lively discussion can be aroused upon the question: When has a foreigner ceased to be a foreigner and when has he become an American?

The trend of things is always more significant than their status at any chance moment of charting. The significance of direction is often overlooked. In an admirable and suggestive statement of elemental forces which must be reckoned with in considering the matter of assimilation, Professor Henry P. Fairchild says, "Assimilation is a matter of the force of environment pitted against that of heredity."[1] We are called upon to face the fact that, in a great many cases and in many localities, progress toward the goal is slow and difficult and, in some instances, has been wholly arrested. In other instances we are able to demonstrate that encouraging progress has been and is being made. If we can ascertain what are the causes that weaken the assimilative force of environment and what reinforces the power of heredity, we

[1] Fairchild, *Immigration,* p. 406.

will have gone a long way toward understanding and measuring the forces with which we must reckon.

Evidence in the Case. It is not necessary to enumerate all the evidence which indicates that assimilation is being retarded and that environment in many cases is losing ground in this contest. Not each count has equally significant value. We do not seek here to bring an indictment against all unassimilated foreign-born men and women nor against every institution which is identified with immigrant folks; we cite some well-attested facts, the cumulative force of which furnishes a powerful argument for a radical change of policy in our attitude toward the foreign-born.

Use of Foreign Language. The wide-spread persistence in the use of foreign languages as a medium of social, cultural, and religious intercourse, on the part of people who are able to use the English language but who eagerly seize every opportunity to use their mother tongue, is a matter that once received little notice. We do not deny them the privilege but cite it as an indication of the fact that heredity is still a dominant force to be reckoned with in their lives. I attend officially meetings of boards and committees representing foreign-speaking groups, and I am impressed with the fact that they seem to prefer to use a foreign language. They use English freely when discussing matters that I present; but although I am a guest, and courtesy, if nothing else, would suggest using English in the conduct of other business, all of which is supposed to be of public interest and of especial official interest to me, they invariably lapse into the language of their group. Most of the men whom I have in mind were born in this country.

Inability to Speak English. We have considered fully the wide-spread inability on the part of multitudes, many of whom have been in America for years, to understand English, but it must enter into the reckoning here. The fact that over 2,500,000 adults still cannot understand our language is certainly sufficiently significant to cause us serious anxiety as to the progress of assimilation.

Foreign Colonies. I do not refer to the predominance of a particular racial strain in a given community, such as, for instance, the Scandinavians in Minnesota. I have in mind, rather, the existence of well-defined foreign colonies; for example, those of the Bohemians in Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska; of Russians in North Dakota; of Poles in Wisconsin; of Germans in Texas and Nebraska. In these colonies the English language is the foreign language, and an American is a foreigner in the community. This isolation, which has persisted in some cases for more than a generation, constitutes an intolerable situation and is painful evidence that assimilation has made not even a beginning.

Racial Cleavage. It is not at all strange that people coming to a new land should seek the society of their fellow countrymen. But when after years of life here, the same groupings and lines of cleavage are manifest in the second and third generation, one can but wonder how deeply the influence of the new world has penetrated. To some of us it is conceivable that other considerations than former nationality may occasionally determine alignment. Perhaps the well-known tendency of dissolved crystals to re-crystalize in accordance with original formation ought to warn us that any such complete assimilation as we dream of is impossible.

The only answer to that doubt is that the grouping along old-world national and racial lines is not manifest where environment has had a fair chance. This tendency to follow racial lines has not yet been proved to be as invariable as a physical law; but it is certainly apparent that, whenever these lines of cleavage persist, there is presumptive evidence that the process of assimilation is not yet complete.

Old World Animosities. To an American it is something in the nature of a never ending wonder that old-world animosities should persist on American soil. The shop fights, neighborhood riots, and even church brawls, which have frequently occurred in sections where racial stocks are highly variegated, are evidences of the persistence of those racial antagonisms and antipathies that we find difficult to understand. I have good friends from Hungary who, after living here for years, continue to be true to the Magyar type in their attitude toward the Slovaks and Rumanians and are unable to see wherein these races have anything to complain of. One of the most curious expressions of this spirit is the difficulty which one experiences in attempting to intermingle Swedish-speaking people from Finland with Swedish-speaking people from Sweden. Even the Roman Church, with all its autocratic authority, has learned that it cannot ignore the survival of these racial antagonisms.

The difficulties in reconciling racial antagonism experienced by the committee of arrangements for the Fourth of July pageant in New York City in 1918 is an illustration in point. The pageant was planned as a demonstration of loyalty on the part of new Americans. It was naturally to be assumed that, in the spirit of the day, the old antagonisms

would be lost sight of; but the extremely bad taste of one group in persistently demanding the privilege of displaying the flag of its nation, allegiance to whose ruler they had renounced, was the spark which set off the magazine. The trouble was on. In the end, the matter was settled through the tact of the committee, which decided to eliminate the use of all flags but those of the Allies. Of course this is simply another proof that these people have not yet gotten the old-world heritage out of their systems and become full partakers of the spirit of America.

Old World Authorities. It is probably sufficient to state, without amplification, that for many thousands the center of authority in matters social and religious as well as political is not in America but in the old world. Mr. Allan L. Benson, candidate of the Socialist Party for president in 1916, resigned from the party on the ground that, as it had developed during the war, it was controlled by foreign influences and was un-American. Others, while not renouncing their Socialist convictions and principles, left the party for the same reason. This old-world authority is one of the most significant evidences that American influences are not yet predominant and determinative in the lives of many people who have sought America as a land of freedom.

Old World Habits. We do not consider that there is anything objectionable in the continuance of many old-world customs. We are fond of many old-world dishes and have long looked upon them as delicacies. We like the beautiful and picturesque costumes, which, of course, are not in any sense incompatible with the American spirit. But some of our foreign residents retain habits of mind and traditional

practices which are un-American and would rouse bitter resentment if fully understood. Treatment of women and children may serve as an illustration of what we mean. In America we have rather decidedly objected to wife-beating; when native Americans indulge in such practises they are either ostracized or imprisoned. But there are foreign-born men living in America who feel that an occasional beating is rather helpful in keeping wives in proper subjection.

I have a test of this un-American attitude of mind which I apply occasionally. In a certain foreign-speaking church the wife of the pastor was holding her baby on her lap. The behavior of the baby annoyed one of the men so much that he produced a strap, and while the service was still in session, walked over to the mother and struck the baby with the strap! Nobody knocked him down or even protested. I have reported this incident to various men of foreign birth in order to observe their mental reaction, and I have yet to find one who showed the slightest surprise, unless it was surprise at my indignation.

The American respect for womanhood, for the privacies of family life, and for the refinements which are instinctive in every decent American are often wanting in many of the foreign colonies in our large cities. I call attention to this as evidence that American influences have not penetrated deeply into the lives of the people of whom these things are still true. No one will be foolish enough to make sweeping generalizations and say that all these characteristics are present in all sections or among all old-world races who have come to America. They are cited as proof of the fact that the American spirit has not yet leavened the whole lump.

Accounting for the Facts. Causes which operate to arrest assimilation must be classified. We will be unable to apply the remedy unless we properly diagnose the disease. We must distinguish between the causes which are natural and those which are artificial, between the causes over which we have no control and those which we can control. We must recognize causes which inhere in heredity and causes which grow out of environment. We use the term "heredity" loosely to cover all the influences and associations which the immigrant brings and of which he can hardly be expected to divest himself consciously and deliberately, as he takes off his foreign clothes, as soon as he sets foot on American soil.

Motives. If men come to America to exploit America even on a modest scale, they are not likely to take any great pains to throw off what has always been natural to them and eagerly seek a new culture. If they have become discontented in their old homes and have some intelligent conception of what America means, they will, naturally, absorb American ideas more readily.

Not all immigrants come deliberately, as the early settlers came, to make a new home and, figuratively, burn their ships on the shore behind them when they have landed. The immigrant of recent years, at least, has come on a voyage of exploration to discover America, and expects to go back to his native land. If all is well, he may return with his family or send for them. These "birds of passage" have numbered hundreds of thousands; to them America means a "job" first of all and not a new life. Some who have lived here for many years think of themselves as exiles. In his searching

article, "A Family Letter" in *The Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1917, Rudolph Heinrichs has painted a vivid word-picture of the life of self-expatriated Germans who glory in their exile and whose hearts have never been transferred to America. There is, however, great cheer and promise in the attitude of others who are represented by a young German conscript in Toledo. A friend of mine, a lawyer who was serving on a draft board, had occasion to help the young man fill out his questionnaire. He explained that, as an alien, he was entitled to claim exemption. The young man straightened himself and with a high look replied, "When I came to America, *I came all.* If America wants Karl Klausen, Karl Klausen is ready!"

Natural Inertia. It requires an effort to discover America and become an American. It is far easier to drift with the familiar faces, speech, and associations; only the ambitious and enterprising attend night-schools. I think of the early struggles and sacrifices of a prosperous business man whose life-story I know well. He left Germany and ran away to America, to be rid of a step-mother. He first found work in a truck garden, but that did not offer sufficient advancement for his ambition; so he sought employment on the ore docks in Cleveland. It was hard work, the hardest kind of work, but he found he could make more money by overtime; so he used his virile strength without stint on those ore piles. Then he found out about night-schools and gave up working overtime to become a pupil. He kept on until he had a fair business education. He had saved his wages, and hearing of a good bargain, bought an apartment-house. With this first venture, he entered the

Courtesy of Industrial Department, Y. M. C. A.

The Y. M. C. A. takes instruction in English right into the factories where foreign-speaking workers are employed.

real estate business. Later he married an American girl, the daughter of his employer. Early in his career he had begun to attend an English-speaking church, and now he is one of the influential office-holders in that large city church. He is as Americanized as one could desire; and he is not a rare exception. I mention him only because he illustrates the struggle required to overcome the natural inertia which is one of the deadliest enemies of assimilation.

Capacity. As a theory, we may hold that all men are capable of education; yet we all know that there are decided differences in their capacity.

When we are considering the matter of assimilation, we must recognize that many factors enter into it. For example, there is the simple element of age. Youth quickly adjusts itself. I have seen young boys hardly a year resident in America throw their chests out and boast that they were Americans. We have all heard of the boy of foreign-born parentage who complained of parental chastisement on the ground that he objected to being whipped by a foreigner!

Native capacity, early training, the previous conditions and customs under which men have lived, must all be taken into consideration. I have examined applicants for admission to a school for immigrants from Russia. Though several had but meager school advantages, it became apparent that native capacity was the determining factor in their progress. One applicant stated pathetically that he had no education—he was a mature man—but he said he knew that animals could be trained and he thought perhaps we might help him. It was very difficult for him to learn anything, and he finally left the school.

Literacy has been made a test of admittance to America, but both President Taft and President Wilson vetoed the proposed measure. Finally it was passed over President Wilson's veto, but it was well understood to be an arbitrary and artificial barrier to cut down the volume of immigration. We must have wondered sometimes during the past four years if the ability to read and write was a fair test. Some very brilliant men and women of foreign birth have proved rather dangerous and with all their native capacity seem not to have assimilated the American spirit to any marked degree. But of course, other things being equal, younger men of initiative and capacity are "better risks" from the Americanization point of view.

Another question of great importance is that of racial capacity. Are all races capable of being assimilated into the life of America? Some Orientals have been debarred from citizenship and many from admission to the country on the ground that they are incapable of being assimilated. Teutonic peoples are supposed to be more naturally akin to Americans, and yet we have been at war with a leading Teutonic power that represented the antipodes of American ideals.

No adequate data have ever been assembled and analyzed upon which to base a scientific judgment as to this matter of racial capacity. Speaking in general terms, the capacity or incapacity for assimilation is an individual, rather than a racial matter. There is no reason why Mazzini or Garibaldi would not have made Americans of distinction. Petöfi and Kossuth, of Hungary, and Kosciusko and Pulaski, of Poland would have been given *carte blanche* in America. There are Japanese and Chinese scholars, gentlemen, states-

men, Christian students who have won many honors in American university life; these would not be "bad hazards" as citizens.

Conservatism. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon this element in human nature. All of us habitually regard our habits and customs as superior to those of other peoples. It is utter folly for us to think that immigrant peoples coming to America are overwhelmed by its splendor and magnificence and are eager to abandon lifelong habits and manners for American ways. In superficial matters, such as dress, they readily adjust themselves to their new surroundings, but one has only to become intimately acquainted with immigrants to learn the secret scorn with which they regard some of our manners, our tastes, our lack of reverence, our hurry and bustle, our methods of production, and the workmanship which characterizes much American production.

The women, who remain at home out of touch with Americanizing influences, are naturally the least affected by American influences and are by virtue of their sex and temperament more conservative than the men. The strongest citadel of conservatism, therefore, is the least exposed to the only influences which can capture it.

The Old Folks at Home. It has been brought out in many conferences that a very human and wholly worthy interest in the fortunes of the homeland may be a barrier to complete assimilation.

I remember a fine young pastor who came from Bohemia and has been naturalized. When I remonstrated with him for calling himself a Bohemian after he had become an American citizen, and a thoroughly sincere one too, he re-

plied that he was deeply interested in the cause of freedom in Bohemia. I assured him that I, also, was deeply interested in that cause and had been for years. I tried to make it clear that a true conception of Americanization did not exclude the most ardent devotion to the cause of freedom anywhere. Some things are incompatible with the American spirit. One cannot be a true American and at the same time a good Junker or Turk. But one may love the land of his birth and desire its prosperity without compromising his Americanism. Nevertheless, the family ties and the heart ties which bind millions to the old world operate to hold them back from complete identification with the fortunes of America.

Self Interest. It is natural to take advantage of the impulses of human nature. Therefore, many immigrant people have shrewdly capitalized the well-known sentiments and impulses of other immigrant people and have profited by them immensely. Very naturally, they do not like to lose special benefits accruing from this separatist sentiment.

As a matter of course the foreign-language press depends for its patronage upon the people of foreign speech who wish to keep alive the associations of the homeland from which they have come. The very existence of these periodicals hangs on the perpetuation of these sentiments. We have readily acknowledged that, as a temporary expedient during the period of transition, foreign-language papers serve a worthy purpose; but it is almost more than can be expected of human nature that the editors should urge their readers to learn English quickly and to put down deep roots into the soil of America.

The same thing is true of foreign-speaking business concerns, from the little shopkeeper to the banks, insurance companies, and other large interests. They, too, have capitalized the sentiment of loyalty to language and former nationality. They would, many of them, go into bankruptcy, if they lost this patronage.

Foreign-language churches are, perhaps, the most potent agency for conserving the foreign heritage. It is well established that the older clergy have most tenaciously upheld foreign traditions and maintained the position that all was lost, if their followers or their followers' children forsook the foreign-language church. Representatives of these churches are often considered renegades because they have united with English-speaking and purely American churches. The younger ministry is less conservative, but has been dominated by older members, who often hold the purse-strings and control the policy. It is true that some of our most influential ministers in American churches were reared in foreign-speaking homes and have identified themselves fully with American interests, but the future influence and support of many foreign-speaking ministers depends upon the conservation of foreign sentiments and language. It may be startling to some Americans to know that religious organizations have been financed largely by foreign money and have in this way been held rather firmly to the old country. These organizations probably do not realize that this money has any power over them, but they would be almost more than human if they were uninfluenced by it.

Deliberate Resistance. At first thought, it may seem purely arbitrary and wholly meaningless to distinguish be-

tween two kinds of resistance to assimilation. The effect is apparently the same, no matter what may be the motive or the method. Nevertheless, it seems important that we make that distinction and reserve our decision as to the question of dealing with both in precisely the same way or in totally different ways.

There is a systematic and persistent resistance to assimilation which is effective but which is not highly organized and does not breed antagonism to America. There is another systematic and persistent resistance to assimilation which is highly organized, efficient, amply financed, assisted, and directed, deliberate, intentional, and wholly sinister. The practical effect of these two forces may not be essentially different, but the motives and morality are radically different. For this reason we need to distinguish between them. The first force we may designate as sentimental resistance to assimilation. The other is well known as an organized propaganda of resistance..

We have called attention repeatedly to various expressions and manifestations of the sentimental impulse to cling tenaciously to everything which is associated with the old country. In many, if not in most instances, the old-world customs are not cherished with the conscious and deliberate intent to defeat or resist the normal processes and forces of assimilation; but the effect is the same, no matter what the intent may be. We have been tolerant and rather indifferent to the significance of this tendency on the part of the foreign-born who attend only the gatherings where their native language is spoken, join only the societies made up of their own countrymen, and mingle only with the people of

their own racial groups. There is more than conservatism and more than inertia in such conduct. We must face these facts kindly but firmly and be willing to speak and hear the truth.

One of the most illuminating articles in all the literature on this subject produced by the war is "A Family Letter,"[1] to which we have referred before. It is a letter from one brother to another regarding the matter of active loyalty to America and her interests. We mention it and quote the following passage from it because of the picture of family life which represents sentimental resistance to assimilation. The family happens to have been German, but it might have been Swedish, or, for that matter, of any other race which is marked by clannishness and which manifests this separatist spirit.

"All aliens tend to be clannish, and the Germans in this country have kept more to themselves, possibly, than the nationals of any other European country. You know how it was in our own family. All father's and mother's friends were German except the B—s, and our intimacy with the B—s was due primarily to the accident that they happened to be our next-door neighbors. You remember that, after we moved away, we saw little of them, except on that annual occasion, Christmas Eve, when they always came, loaded to the gunwales with presents, to celebrate with us, German-fashion. Your friends at first (and mine also as a boy) were largely in the German set, though you and I, like the rest of the children, had been born in this country; and all the men who called on the girls were German. You remember, we spoke of it at the time, fifteen years or more ago.

[1] *The Atlantic Monthly,* December, 1917.

The girls did not seem to care for American men, and American men did not seem to be drawn to them, though they were unquestionably attractive...Counts and barons besieged them, but Americans somehow kept away or were gently pushed away—I never could quite decide which. And the girls were all four of them born in America and had all attended American schools.

"The trouble, I suppose, was that the atmosphere of our household was absolutely German, and American boys felt shy in it, out of their element, embarrassed to know exactly how to act. Father, in insisting on keeping our home as German as possible, was, we know, acting from the highest sense of loyalty to his German origin...He became an American citizen and a most conscientious supporter of good government in his city as well as his nation.

"We had a wonderful home, and there are a thousand memories of things distinctively German which I cling to gratefully. I need not tell you that. The memory of those Christmas Eves is something always to treasure, and there were countless Sunday parties, including always the whole family and troops of friends, parties lasting from one to ten (when father wound up the clock), with *Volkslieder,* games, and good, lively talk, that neither you nor I will ever forget or ever want to forget. Our home was the best sort of home a boy could have, but the insistence morning, noon, and night that it be above all a German home, has, so far as our family life is concerned, had tragic results. After mother's death, father and the girls returned to Germany to live. One of the girls married a German officer, another a German civil administrator, a third a German professor. Carl,

of course, was altogether German anyway. His school-days in Germany definitely settled that. You, having had a part of the same training, naturally tended toward the German point of view. I, coming at the tail end of the family and going to American schools, and particularly to an American boarding-school, became somehow Americanized. I don't know exactly how it happened, but the fact remains; I went to Germany as often as the rest of the family, but I never made any friends there. German boys and American boys, I found, looked at almost everything under the sun from different angles, and my angle happened to be the American angle...

"It was not the German government that was responsible for this particular wreck. It was mainly clannishness and sentimentality—clannishness, which prevented us as a family from striking our roots out into true American soil, having Americans as our daily companions and the guests of our Sunday parties, instead of always German bankers and merchants and reserve officers and traveling noblemen; sentimentality, which loved to insist that we were good Germans after all, and which prevented father from ever buying an inch of American land, because he wanted at any and every time to feel foot-free to return to Germany. Clannishness and sentimentality—the futile looking backward to a happy state which never was—are prominent characteristics of the German."

A pastor of a German church in a western state was convicted of sedition. In sentencing him, Judge Charles F. Amidon uttered sentiments, so true and so forcefully expressed that they should be widely read:

"You received your final papers as a citizen in 1898. By the oath which you then took, you renounced and adjured all allegiance to Germany and to the emperor of Germany and swore that you would bear true faith and allegiance to the United States. What did you mean? That you would set about earnestly growing an American soul and put away your German soul. That is what your oath of allegiance meant. Have you done that? I do not think you have. You have cherished everything German, prayed German, read German, sung German. Every thought of your mind and every emotion of your heart through all these years has been German...There have been a good many Germans before me in the last month...They have lived in the country, like yourself, ten, twenty, thirty, forty years; and they had to give their evidence through an interpreter...It [the oath of allegiance] means that you will begin to sing American songs; that you will begin earnestly to study American history; that you will begin to open your lives through every avenue to the influence of American life... If half the effort had been put forth in these foreign communities to build up American life in the hearts of these foreign-born citizens that has been put forth to perpetuate a foreign life, our situation would have been entirely different from what it is to-day...You have cherished foreign ideals and tried to make them everlasting. That is the basic wrong of these thousands of little islands of foreigners, that instead of trying to remove the foreign life out of their souls and to build up an American life in them, they have striven studiously from year to year to stifle American life and to make foreignness perpetual."[1]

[1] *The Outlook*, September 18, 1918, "A Judicial Definition of Allegiance."

That some of the responsibility for this condition of affairs rests with the older American stock we will admit; but that does not relieve these groups from responsibility for a sentimental resistance to assimilation which is in effect a violation of the oath of allegiance and is essentially disloyal.

Organized Resistance. The highly organized propaganda which has taken advantage of this sentimental resistance to assimilation has become so familiar that we hardly need to do more than include it in a list of forces with which to reckon. It would be strange if it should disappear altogether as a factor in our national life. We need to get at the underlying spirit of this propaganda if we are to meet its challenge.

Quoting again from "A Family Letter" (which is inside testimony): "The Great War has brought home to us, with startling shock, the realization that, unknown to the great majority of the American people, a foreign government has for the past fifteen or twenty years been slowly constructing machinery to counteract the assimilative potencies of this American spirit. Through the schools, through the churches, through the colleges and universities, through associations of school-teachers, through athletic, social, and literary clubs, organized and closely bound together into a highly centralized alliance; and lastly, and most effectively, through the daily and weekly papers, religious as well as secular, this government has been endeavoring to consolidate the largest and on the whole the most respected and most trusted portion of our population of foreign birth or immediate foreign origin, into a solid mass, organized, not only to prevent its own assimilation but also to work actively toward its own

political dominance, first in the state and later in the nation. I refer, I need not say, to Germany."

Gustavus Ohlinger tells us that, according to its own official statement, some of the principal objects of the National German-American Alliance were "to strengthen the sense of unity among the people of German origin in America; to check nativistic encroachments [whatever that may mean] to augment the influence of German culture by encouraging the use of the German language and making its teaching in the public schools compulsory; to liberalize our naturalization laws by removing knowledge of the English language and other educational tests as requirements of citizenship; and finally, to combat Puritan influences, particularly invasions of personal liberty in the form of restriction of the liquor traffic."[1] The President of the Alliance, speaking in 1911, called upon its members to assert themselves. He said, "Let us, therefore, with united energies and with every available means, battle for the preservation of our racial character and of its intellectual achievements."[2] Before ten thousand Germans in Milwaukee, he declared, "We have long suffered the preachment that 'you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated; you must merge in the American people;' but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture."[3]

The National German-American Alliance and the Sons of Herman have not been alone in this organized opposition to assimilation. They have formed a political alliance with the Irish which has borne abundant fruit during recent months. Several years ago, before the war, the Alliance pointed proudly to the fact that citizens of Italian origin

1 Ohlinger, *Their Faith and Allegiance,* p. 37.
2 Ibid, p. 58.
3 Ibid, p. xi.

had formed a national organization taking as its model the German Alliance. The activities of other racial organizations differ from the National German-American Alliance in method and efficiency, and in an absence of the peculiar spirit of bitterness toward America. But their one test of success is their ability to preserve undiminished and to perpetuate race solidarity and race separateness.

Judge Amidon, whose speech in convicting a German pastor we have quoted above, said, as he concluded his charge, "It [freedom of the press] won't protect any press or any church which, while it is trying to meet a temporary need, does not set itself earnestly about the business of making that temporary situation just as temporary as possible, and not making it, as has been true in the past, just as nearly perpetual as possible." It is this distinction, between the temporary and the permanent which we must keep before us. The test of a policy lies in its trend and tendency. Sincere Americans of foreign antecedents will not aid or abet this propaganda, which has now been exposed in all its sinister character, by silence or by continuing to practise the principles which this movement has promulgated.

Environment and Assimilation. Recalling Professor Fairchild's statement, "Assimilation is a matter of the force of environment, pitted against that of the force of heredity," let us consider the causes growing out of environment which retard, instead of assist, assimilation.

When we realize that our only hope is in environment, it is truly alarming to be confronted at once by the fact that environment has not always been a trusty ally of assimilation

but has often either been neutralized or has turned traitor. We have placed the responsibility for systematic and deliberate resistance to assimilation where it belongs, that is, largely upon the foreign-speaking people themselves; but responsibility for environment rests almost entirely upon America. Professor Fairchild puts a finger on the weak spot when he says: "Our knowledge of how to produce satisfactory social relations is far behind our knowledge of how to produce wealth."[1] This failure to surround newcomers with an environment which is one hundred per cent. efficient for assimilation does not make pleasant reading for Americans who have been aroused to the real dangers of an un-American element in our national life. But we can correct our mistakes and change our policy only when we understand the situation which exists and while humbly confessing our sins, are willing to accept our full share of blame.

To quote once more from Judge Amidon, "I blame myself; I blame my country. We urged you to come. We welcomed you; we gave you opportunity; we gave you land; we conferred upon you the diadem of American citizenship —and then we left you. We paid no attention to what you have been doing."

National Policy. The major emphasis of the government's activity as touching the immigrant has been restrictive. It has been concerned with the exclusion or deportation of undesirables, which form a mere fraction of the immigrant population. Conditions at ports of entry have been greatly improved in recent years, and safeguards have been thrown about the newcomers at the landing stage; but we have yet to inaugurate a large, wise, and well-conceived policy which

[1] Fairchild, *Immigration,* p. 433.

meets the exigencies of the case. When one considers the tremendous significance of the issues which are involved in the right adjustment of these newcomers to their environment and the importance of surrounding them, not simply with safeguards but with an atmosphere which will be conducive to assimilation, we find it difficult to understand the failure of the national and the state governments alike to appreciate the importance of this matter.

First impressions are often ineradicable. If they are unfavorable, they are always difficult to overcome. The immigrant has come with every preconception in our favor. He brings an enthusiasm and a naivete which is amazing and beautiful. When we realize how this precious spiritual wealth is dissipated, we are filled with wonder that America is ever able to regain the faith which she has forfeited. We have trusted to chance and to commercial agencies, which have every temptation to serve their own ends rather than the interests of these new Americans or the welfare of the nation. The only real assistance has been provided by private cooperation and by a few semi-official agencies for which a mere pittance of financial aid has been grudgingly provided by municipal authorities.

Much has been written and uttered regarding the transportation of the immigrant, the unorganized and undirected flow of employment, the maladjustment between supply and demand, the congestion of cities, and the dearth of seasonable labor. These are problems which lie deeper than the surface and require consummate wisdom for their solution. But the chief point is that, if ever an immigrant needs a friend and if ever a friend could make his service yield a thou-

sand-fold return, it is during the early days of the immigrant's induction into American life. To guide these eager newcomers into classes in English, to give them wise counsel and friendly advice as to the perils to avoid and the opportunities and privileges offered, the prizes to be won, and the higher values which are to be gained in America; these are the services which need to be rendered, and they are so eminently practical, that we wonder what blindness has shut our eyes to their vital importance. The failure to do these things has often turned eagerness and enthusiasm, simple faith and confiding trust, into suspicion, distrust, hatred, and the bitterness of gall.

Un-American America. Socially minded Americans repudiate unwholesome social conditions as being out of keeping with what, we like to think, is typical of America. The vast majority of Americans do not know what these conditions are. They exist here; they are characteristic of many sections of America; they represent about all that many hundreds of thousands of the foreign-born know of this country. Their America is crowded, unsanitary, often industrially cruel and dangerous, socially unfriendly, and very unjust. We say, and rightly, that such conditions are un-American. They would be changed if the great body of Americans knew them as some of us do. The living conditions demanded by American standards are not luxurious. They include such elemental necessities of life as privacy, sanitation, and sufficient air and sunlight, as have been demonstrated to be essential to decency and health. To these simple requirements are added wholesome surroundings, physical and moral. If these very simple tests are applied, it is

immediately evident that there are literally millions in the United States who do not enjoy them.

The picture drawn for us in that vivid story, "The Wop in the Track Gang,"[1] rather than being exceptional, is characteristic of the living conditions in many public works. There are, as I write, several hundred Mexicans living in box cars near Chicago, with two families to a car and no decent provision for the most primitive necessities. The conditions in the lumber-camps in the past against which many workers have revolted are, according to the late Professor Carlton Parker, of Washington University, "the kind of conditions which would turn any self-respecting American into a revolutionist."[2]

The slums of our great cities are not created by foreigners. The foreigner is forced there by circumstances. The situation in the Italian quarter of Milwaukee, as described by a competent witness not long ago, is, we hope, un-American: "In a single dwelling, which is not unlike many we saw, there lived together in ignorant misery one man, two women, ten children, six dogs, two goats, five pigeons, two horses, and other animal life which escaped our hurried observation." The same investigator says that the Ghetto of that same city defies description. The stockyards district of Kansas City, Kansas, ought to receive dishonorable mention when specific local compliments are being distributed.

To expect to assimilate newcomers to a high standard of American life under such conditions constitutes an unwarrantable reliance upon the miraculous. As Professor Edward A. Steiner says, "The American people as a whole clamor with a kind of savage hunger for the assimilation of the im-

[1] *The Immigrants in America Review,* July, 1916.
[2] *The Atlantic Monthly,* November, 1917, "I. W. W."

migrant; but the question into what he is to be assimilated has not agitated them to any marked degree."[1]

The World of Work. The immigrant comes to America to work. The best news which he can hear is that there is a job awaiting him. He is not looking for soft jobs, but steady jobs and reasonably good pay. He wants to invest his energy in America, and America has wanted him to do so. That so many men have become embittered, and at last turned to hate America, is something for which the American people ought to demand an explanation.

Men, who afterward became good Americans, have told me of the circumstances which at first turned them against America. It is not always a deliberate injustice. It is quite as often a lack of information or of a friend at hand who can be trusted. The long, long day leaves the average man too exhausted to seek a night-school, too worn out to go to church at night. By making it impossible for men and women to respond to American appeals, the seven days' work and the twelve-hour day have done more to prevent assimilation, than the vicious and immoral agencies, which have received the most attention. But the sense of helplessness, the consciousness of being unable to cope with the situation, the feeling of being the victim of circumstances over which they have no control, owing to their ignorance and inability to speak English; these are the things which breed despair and enmity, and are deadly foes to Americanization.

Exploiting the Foreigner. The foreigner represents "easy money" to numberless unscrupulous persons, who seem to feel that as they "need the money," the foreigners are providentially provided to furnish it. Grafting foremen

[1] Steiner, *From Alien to Citizen,* p.p. 166-167.

who do a thriving business in job selling, the "banker" who sends money home or poses as doing so, the real estate shark who unloads land which is still under water; all these and many others fleece foreigners out of literally millions of dollars each year.

I am informed on what I consider the most reliable authority that, in a mid-western city not long ago, a lawyer was consulted by a Persian concerning some property in the homeland which he was trying to sell or for the sale of which he wanted to collect the proceeds. The lawyer offered to telephone the President and held a fake telephone conversation with him in the client's presence. He assured the client that the President had agreed to collect the bill and would declare war on Turkey if it was not paid. The transaction cost the client $150. As no returns materialized, the man called again and once more paid for a fake call on the telephone and another fee for legal advice. The dishonest lawyer was found out and summoned to defend himself in a suit to disbar him. I do not know the outcome. In the same section, a doctor was called upon in his office by two children of foreign parentage to get "something for a cough" for their mother. The doctor asked them how much money they had and found they had two dollars with them. He pressed his inquiry and found that they had enough at home to make up seven dollars. He sent them home for the money and upon their return consented to part with a bottle of cough-dope in exchange for the seven dollars. We do not cite these instances as universal, but they are prevalent enough to make us realize that the foreigner has reason to be suspicious of America. It is quite likely that these dis-

honest men were themselves foreigners. The effect, however, is the same.

The Helpless Wayfarer. Our Declaration of Independence, which we have never repudiated, officially expresses the conviction that all men have free and equal rights before the law. There is ground for suspicion that in practise, in the mind of many officers of the law as well as many employers, a foreigner has no rights which a native American is bound to respect. Oftentimes policemen, trainmen, street-car conductors, and others who are employed to discharge specific duties, treat the typical bewildered foreigner with utter disregard of his need. I have—as we, doubtless, all have—been aroused almost to fury at the tone and manner which these servants of the public sometimes use in dealing with foreigners whose ignorance of the language, inexperience, and bewilderment, instead of appealing to the sympathy and humanity of such officials, seems to rouse only contempt or anger.

I shall never forget the remark of a man who stood by my side on a railroad platform, as we watched a trainload of westward bound immigrants on a side track. They were hurriedly buying loaves of bread from hampers brought from a near-by bakery. They were just a lot of cheerful, hungry, vigorous men, eager to get to work and willing to endure much privation for the privilege. My companion remarked with indescribable scorn, "There are a lot of cattle who are to become future American citizens!" It is impossible for the foreigner to remain insensible to this contempt. He had not suspected in Europe that it existed, and to discover it here is a decided shock. How much that attitude has arrested

assimilation it would be impossible to say, but it is one of the causes of bitterness and discontent for which America must suffer.

Isolation. The isolation of the foreign-born from American contact is, of course, the crux of the entire matter. A Bishop in Scranton said, "My people do not live in America. America goes on over their heads." He referred to men at work in the mines which underlie that city, but it is figuratively true of much of the life of the foreigner. They do not come into contact with America. A friend of mine, a Czech in Chicago, told me that he lived in Chicago for years before coming into contact with Americans. The way he put it was, "Chicago was in America, but America was not in Chicago." (Of course he referred to the part of Chicago he knew.)

We have been describing in this part of our study the unfavorable environment which concerns more particularly the new immigration and has little bearing upon the assimilation of the older groups. It is at this point that we touch one of the most, if not *the* most, fruitful causes of unassimilation. One of the reasons why the older groups have not more fully entered into the life of America is because American homes and American social life have been generally closed to them. I cite a single instance, which is significant because it is characteristic and not in the least exceptional. In a group of ministers at a luncheon where I was a guest and had spoken of Americanization problems, there were present several men who were not born in America. When I had finished and the discussion had become general, one of these men was requested and heartily urged to speak.

He was one of the finest-looking men in the room, well-educated, refined, and beloved by all, a man to attract attention anywhere. He arose, and after a few preliminary words, paused an instant, and then with deep feeling said, "I have been a minister for twenty-one years; I have lived in America twenty years; but I have never been in an American home." If he had exploded a bomb, he would not have created a greater sensation. When the gathering broke up, the guests rushed to him with one accord and poured upon him invitations enough to fill his engagement book for months.

Let us apply the test to ourselves. How many of us have on our calling list or have ever invited into our homes any of the people of whom we are thinking? May I add that, if we have not done so, we have missed, from the point of view of pure interest, a most refreshing experience, as well as having lost invaluable opportunities for interpreting America. "What we are really suffering from is...a determined withdrawal of native Americans from the real situation in America, a positive refusal to face their destiny, a stupid neglect to provide anything for the immigrant but a job."[1]

At least three books bearing upon the phases of this problem deserve special notice. Grace Abbott's admirable work, *The Immigrant and the Community,* is one of the most stimulating and suggestive books on the subject. The other two books are autobiographies: Professor Steiner's *From Alien to Citizen* and Marcus E. Ravage's *An American in the Making.*

The facts to which we have called attention in this chapter are so familiar that until now they have attracted little gen-

[1] Kellor, *Straight America,* p. 86.

eral attention. We cannot achieve national unity by shutting our eyes to the situation and going blithely on our way, confidingly trusting in luck. Resolutely and courageously we must face the facts and determine relentless warfare against everything which threatens the realization of our goal, the achievement of our destiny.

CHAPTER V

THE PATH OF PROGRESS

PROGRESS is made through the monotonous round of our daily life, but it registers in crises. Chemical elements in solution may be precipitated and crystalized by a shock. The war furnished that shock for thousands of foreign-born men and women in America and crystalized the love and devotion which had been held in solution. Heretofore no great demand had been made upon them. Most of us are not sufficiently introspective to know just what takes place in our minds while we are passing through a transition. The great mass of foreign-born citizens in America had never faced a great issue like war. They had been slowly growing American souls but had not yet found themselves.

A man of foreign birth said to me recently, "I had taken out my first papers and declared my intention of becoming a citizen, but Sweden was still first in my heart. Then one day—it was the fifteenth of October—it came to me what America was doing in the war; how unselfish were her purposes; what a wonderful part she was playing. That day America became first, and Sweden dropped to a second place. Now when I see Old Glory, I can say 'my country!' " The depth of feeling with which he uttered the words spoke volumes.

Jacob Riis was as loyal and true an American as ever lived, but even he needed to go through this awakening

process; he had to discover by a sudden revelation how much America meant. While on a visit to his native Denmark, he became very ill. One day during his convalescence, he was lying where he could look out upon the harbor, when there hove in sight a vessel flying the Stars and Stripes. I will let him tell in his own way what took place. "All at once there sailed past, close inshore, a ship flying at the top the flag of freedom, blown out on the breeze till every star in it shone bright and clear. That moment I knew. Gone were illness, discouragement, and gloom; forgotten, weakness and suffering, the cautions of doctor and nurse. I sat up in bed and shouted, laughed, and cried by turns, waving my handkerchief to the flag out there. They thought I had lost my head, but I told them, 'No, thank God'; I had found it, and my heart, too, at last. I knew then that it was my flag; that my children's home was mine, indeed; that I also had become an American in truth. And I thanked God, and like unto the man sick of the palsy, arose from my bed and went home, healed."[1]

We have insisted that becoming an American is a profound inner experience. There is a sense in which we may say that one must be born again of the American spirit in order to become an American. As in a religious experience it is often an emotional upheaval which awakens us, so it is in this matter of becoming an American. An eminent psychologist has spoken of religious conversion as "the shock of regeneration." The war has furnished the crisis and produced the needed shock which will, we believe, save America for a true national unity.

Encouraging Signs. In the last chapter we were pri-

[1] Riis, *The Making of an American*, p. 443.

marily concerned with those influences which were unfavorable to assimilation and tended to retard it. Of course that is not the whole story; else America would long since have been ruined past redemption. There are more wholesome and potent influences at work in our American life upon which we rest our faith in the nation's genius to perform this miracle of assimilation. We may overcome the resistance to assimilation, if we understand the forces which are at work to counteract them. If we gauge them fairly, we may strengthen and accelerate them.

Because Americanization is a process, it must be regarded as relative. The crisis reveals the degree to which assimilation has progressed. When in this chapter we are speaking of favorable influences which promote assimilation, we have in mind the trend, the process, the relative achievement, and not altogether complete and perfect assimilation. We have suggested, in a previous chapter, that there is no arbitrary standard or graduated scale for testing progress toward Americanization. Doubtless there is a mysterious line which marks the transition, the shifting of the balance of influence from heredity to environment. But most men are wholly unconscious of any such tropical line. A man may be considered to have become an American when he ceases to regard himself as a foreigner and thinks of America in terms of proprietary interest; when he can say "my country," "our flag," "we Americans," instead of "your country," "your flag," "you Americans." We need to be warned against accepting superficial indications of assimilation as conclusive and allowing them to pass for more than they are worth. The use of carpets and bathtubs and the wearing

of American clothes are not evidences of Americanization. When his old clothes wear out, a foreigner naturally buys American clothes. With all the advertising and display of department stores and the deceptive allurements of the instalment plan, a newcomer must have a strong moral character to resist the appeal of American rugs, furniture, and bathroom fixtures. These all help to make attractive and comfortable homes, but Americanization is a matter of the spirit and not the letter. The letter is often deceptive. It is to the spirit we must look for evidence of life. The outward and visible signs of this inward grace of the spirit must be sought in other directions. It costs more to become an American than the price of furniture and clothes.

It Takes Time. If we reread Dr. Laidlaw's statement concerning the racial amalgamation of the past generations,[1] we will be impressed by the fact that time is an essential element in the process of assimilation, as it is in education and in everything else that has to do with life. We need constantly to keep in view the background of the past against which we see the present.

A picture of the typical American of fifty years ago and a similar picture of the typical American as he is to-day would probably fail to not reveal any very marked divergence in character. We know we have changed, but we do not believe that we are less American and more European. There is a greater variety of individual types in our population, but there has been a substantial maintenance of the national type. When we consider individuals, we find abundant evidence of the potencies of the American spirit to transform old-world men and women into real Amer-

[1] See page 30.

icans. We are naturally impatient with what seems delay. We forget that life processes are slow, secret, subtle, and unconscious. When a nation of 100,000,000 souls is involved, the process of developing spiritual unity requires immeasurably greater patience and faith.

Wholesome Signs. We ought to thank God and take courage every time a foreign-born man or woman or a foreign-born group rises in revolt against conditions which we know to be un-American.

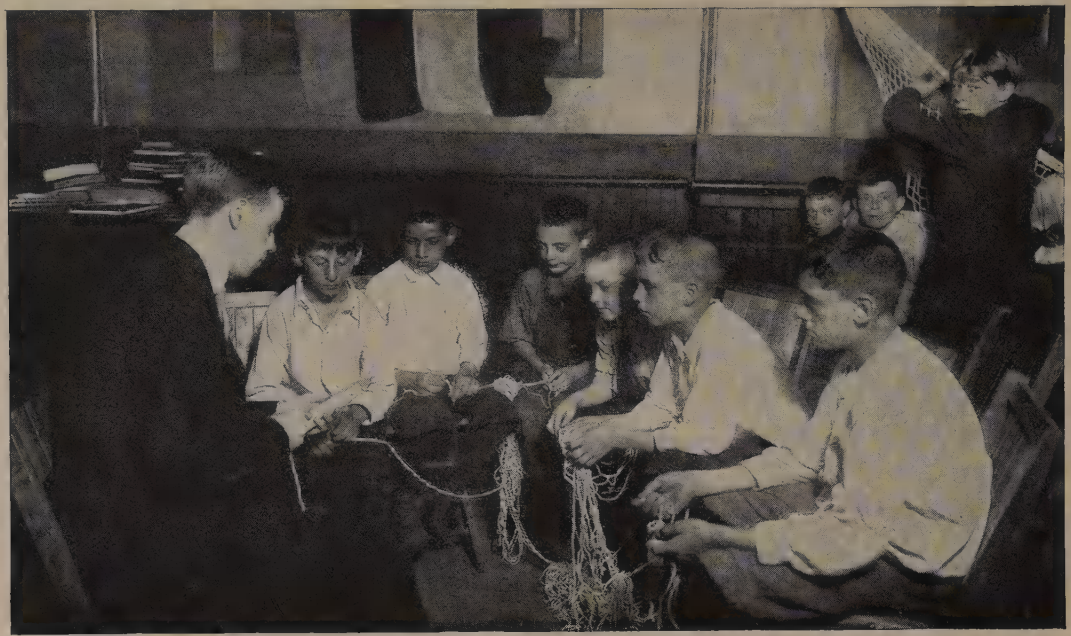
Generations of oppression, petty tyranny, and social repression, such as these people have experienced, breed either submissiveness and servility or sullen hate. We have during the past few months seen the revolutionary spirit become rampant in Europe; but that has not been the case in times past, and even yet many have not the spirit to rise and demand their full rights. America has taught her immigrant folk lessons of self-reliance and self-assertion which would disconcert their former masters in Europe. The reflex influence of America is felt in the remotest parts of Europe, and in Asia as well. The spirit of America is the spirit of self-respect, independence of domination, and resentment of injustice and tyranny. Men or women born to a life of toil in Europe find a new spirit in America, and the measure of their assimilation of the American spirit is the measure of their independence, their self-assertion, and their self-reliance.

Of course there must go with these a higher spirit, which is harder to acquire—the spirit of consideration for others; of unselfishness; of readiness to yield personal claims that all may be benefitted and to surrender non-essentials for the

sake of higher interests. But my contention is that the temper of naturalized citizens which makes them resent and rebel at un-American conditions is an indication that they have partaken of the American spirit. Discontent is a primary and essential element of ambition and must be strong in a man's heart before he can aspire to something better. The very fact that these men were not content with Europe indicates that they had in them the stuff of which Americans are made. I know full well that, in the minds of some Americans, a contented spirit on the part of these people, a spirit of humble gratitude for the privilege of being admitted to America, is considered to be a more fitting attitude of mind. The ruling classes of Europe have laughed at our gospel of equal rights and say that we have spoiled these peasants. If we believe our own gospel, we must hail with joy that noble discontent which aspires to better things and will not be content with conditions which we know are not representative of the best of America.

Partakers of the Community Spirit. We have recognized that to separateness and segregation from the vitalizing and wholesome American influences was due much of our failure to assimilate alien elements in our population. Everything, therefore, which indicates the growth and deepening of community consciousness on the part of the foreign-born is a measure of the growth and deepening of the American spirit in their lives.

One of the first, and perhaps one of the most significant, signs of this spirit is the establishment of homes in America. The purchase of property, not for investment but for the establishment of a home, is for the immigrant the beginning



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Classes and clubs in the churches help the children from foreign-speaking homes to grow into loyal and intelligent citizenship.

of a new relationship to the community. He and his family become more deeply rooted in the soil. Everything which affects the public welfare becomes a matter of concern to the immigrant family. The school, the local government, taxes, and civic improvements are all of interest to him. He has become a stockholder and partner in the business. There are reported to be more than thirty thousand people of Polish birth who own their own homes in Buffalo. There are many thousand home owners of the same nationality in Detroit and Cleveland. A Polish immigrant has become the health officer of Buffalo, and a Hungarian immigrant is —or was in 1917—the mayor of Indiana Harbor, Indiana.

Not long ago, on an extension of the subway system in New York City, I overheard a man with a decidedly foreign accent telling a friend what a prolonged struggle the taxpayers and property owners of that section had gone through to get the line extended. He spoke with a sense of personal interest and possession which betokened a real and deep community spirit. During the recent "wet-and-dry" campaign in Indiana it was conceded that the foreigners of East Hammond would vote "wet"; but when the votes were counted, to the amazement of both sides, these same foreigners had carried their district for the "drys"! In matters of community welfare, it is noticeable that our citizens of foreign birth are conspicuous for their devotion. To them, participation in public affairs is a new experience. Americans of the older stock are often conspicuous for their indifference.

The quickening of community consciousness has been immeasurably advanced by the many activities connected with

home service during the war. The Red Cross, the "war chest," food conservation, Liberty Loans, and other campaigns, and finally the inspired "block party," with its community service flag, have done more to enrich the community spirit and endow it with a new self-consciousness than anything else that has ever come to the life of America.

Enrichment of America. In sharp contrast with the withdrawal from American life on the part of many newcomers, who colonize and refuse to share the responsibility of the country of their residence, is the inspiring example of thousands of other men and women of foreign birth who have demonstrated their Americanism by identifying themselves with all well-defined movements to advance the higher welfare of the nation.

If we call the roll of conspicuous names in almost any phase of activity for the national welfare, this fact is at once apparent. To be a great philanthropist or social engineer, an eminent physician, scientist, or educator, one does not need to have been born in America. To have vision, insight, and idealism raised to the highest power, one need not be a descendant of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims.

The list is so long that we hesitate even to mention names. The record of men like Carl Schurz, Franz Siegel, and hundreds of others less conspicuous but equally faithful and devoted represents a glorious chapter in the development of the nation. The juvenile court was conceived by a man of Scandinavian birth. One of the best-loved men in New York was Jacob Riis, a native of Denmark, who helped to make the more comfortable "half" understand "how the other half lives." When Governor Hughes was trying to abolish race-

track gambling in New York State, the man to cast the deciding vote in the senate was a German immigrant, Senator Faulkner, who, though dangerously ill, insisted upon being carried to Albany and wheeled in a chair into the senate chamber, in order to record his vote. Members of the Jewish race often have a positive genius for philanthropy and a social passion which has enriched America beyond computation; a partial list of names includes men and women like Samuel Gompers, Julius Rosenwald, Rabbi Wise, the Straus brothers, Mortimer Schiff, Julius Kahn, Paul Warburg, Lillian Wald, Felix Adler, Ambassador Morgenthau, Simon Bamberger (a Jew who is the "Gentile" governor of the Mormon state of Utah), Justice Brandeis, and Edward A. Steiner. It is difficult to think of Andrew Carnegie as one of the new Americans, but he was a Scotch immigrant. Among eminent educators we may mention Dr. Franz Boas, professor of anthropology in Columbia University and a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor; the great naturalist Professor Louis Agassiz of Harvard; Professor Michael Pupin of Columbia University; and Enrico Suzallo, president of the University of Washington. The late Walter Rauschenbusch, a saint and prophet of the social order, was the son of a German immigrant of the Revolutionary period. I have compiled a long list of naturalized Americans or the sons or daughters of naturalized citizens, who have gone out from America to foreign mission fields. Men in the Christian ministry in America who have come of immigrant stock represent some of the best leadership in the American pulpit to-day. These all stand as irrefutable witnesses of the life-giving power of the American spirit.

Faithful unto Death. The casualty lists have been a revelation even to those who knew how the foreign element was intermingled with the American stock. The devotion and sacrifice of foreign-born parents in giving their sons; the response of these Americans to the appeal of the Liberty Loans and all other drives; the services of yeomen in the navy and of army and Red Cross nurses; all represent the spirit of millions of the foreign-born who were eager and ready to pour out their newly discovered love and devotion for America.

Agencies of Progress. We have every reasonable ground for confidence and courage as we seek to understand more perfectly the agencies and influences which may be relied upon and which truly represent and interpret the American spirit. We have criticized the past failure of the federal and state governments to seize the psychological advantage offered at the beginning of the immigrant's adjustment to new surroundings. The government has in more recent times made elaborate studies and has gathered valuable data upon which, rather than upon the passions of the war years, it is hoped the policy of the reconstruction era is to be based.

The Bureau of Education is doing admirable work by way of promoting the teaching of English to non-English-speaking peoples in the United States, and the Commissioner of Education is bringing to this service a high-minded devotion and understanding which promises further great achievements. The government has made the largest appropriation for the program of the Bureau ever voted for education. The teaching of English in the military camps and the service

of the Red Cross in immigrant homes have brought these public agencies into close human touch with the personal and family problems of the unassimilated, and this must produce far-reaching reactions in both directions. The government is not a policeman—at least, not in the old conception of a policeman. It is the nation organized for self-direction and self-development. The far-reaching plans of the Department of the Interior for land development and larger opportunities for obtaining land credit, in order to enable men of limited means to become land owners, are certain to produce most beneficial results. They will exert a wide influence for good among our younger immigrants, who have, by their participation in the war, become possessed of a new spirit of oneness with America. The government's interest in housing, to meet the needs of communities that were created or suddenly expanded by the emergency of war production, has established precedents and standards which we must not allow to be dissipated. New communities, such as Yorkship Village, New Jersey, Harriman, Pennsylvania, and the tract adjacent to Chester on the north and Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, on the south, and some fifty or more other model communities which are under construction have been financed by government investments and loans. They have demonstrated that, with intelligent planning, it is possible to raise the standards of housing and the whole community life. This movement was the outcome of the constructive work of the National Housing Association and kindred agencies. Government employment agencies represent another step forward. Now that their service has passed the experimental stage and is to be extended, grave

faults will be corrected. They are among the most valuable aids which the government can render to the foreign-born.

Much has been gained when the public has become accustomed to thinking of the government as responsible for the welfare of the people, who are, in a sense, still its wards, and must be until they have in truth become Americanized.

The Dignity of Naturalization. The scandalous misuse of naturalization papers in the past and the cheap and undignified way in which even perfectly legal transactions were consummated have constituted a grievous and tragic failure to make citizenship appear the noble and lofty privilege that we know it to be. The city of Cleveland has the distinction of being in the van of many good movements, and now it must be given the credit for an innovation which raised the ceremony of naturalization to a new dignity. The city and the Y. M. C. A. combined in an educational program in behalf of candidates for citizenship. When the members of that first class were to be granted their final papers and the oath of allegiance was to be administered, a public reception was arranged, and addresses were delivered by the presiding judge (now one of the justices of the Supreme Court), by a City Judge, who was himself a naturalized citizen, and by other public-spirited and high-minded citizens. The administration of the oath was as solemn as if it had been a sacrament, and never before in America has such a "confirmation class" been seen as assembled in the United States district court-room that day. Cleveland's good example was contagious, and since then, in our large cities at least, this dignifying of the ceremony of naturalization has been maintained. The Fourth of July has now come to

be for naturalization what Easter is for entrance upon church membership.

But our concern and interest ought not to stop with the receipt of the naturalization papers which are the patent of American nobility. Politicians and partisan interests are very much alive to the importance of enrolling this new citizenship for their own ends. Ought not the socially minded and unselfish agencies to enlist this newly conferred power for the building of a better America? Some resourceful person should work out a practical plan for extending this educational propaganda beyond naturalization and lending practical aid. Many industrial concerns have made citizenship a condition of advancement.

Pressure brought to bear among men of foreign birth to become citizens is well meant, but fraught with danger. The importance of full and careful education as to the meaning of citizenship, the history and ideals of America, and governmental principles has been recognized. This education should be popularized and brought within reach of all, both men and women. It is only by such a process of education that men come to know America. According to recent confessions many an oath of allegiance has been sworn lightly and with mental reservation. If employment be conditioned upon citizenship, we cheapen citizenship.

Educational Plans. The influence of our public schools upon the process of assimilation can hardly be overestimated. One of the strongest arguments against the parochial school is its class bias, which is inimical to the spirit of free democracy. The coercive measures resorted to by Roman Catholic priests and some Protestant pastors

to compel attendance upon parochial schools should be resisted as valiantly as any other encroachment upon personal liberty. We must safeguard the educational freedom of every citizen as vigilantly as we would the priceless privilege of religious liberty. Private schools of the more democratic type are powerful Americanization agencies, owing to the greater intimacy of the social life and the continuity of social contacts, which cannot be had so fully in the public schools. There are, however, but few secondary schools in the country to which foreign-born students can be admitted. The Mount Hermon School, founded by Dwight L. Moody, is an illustration of a private school which has exerted a powerful influence upon hundreds of the youth of foreign birth or parentage. The influence of college life upon foreign-born young men and women or children of foreign parents who are able to enter is of great potency, and it is the atmosphere in which the most ambitious and promising of these young people are going to get their working convictions of America.

The influence of the public school has never received a finer tribute than that paid to it by Mary Antin in *The Promised Land.* Thousands of school-teachers have felt that their high calling was a mission to interpret America to the boys and girls of foreign parentage, and the influence which they have wielded can never be adequately measured nor sufficiently appreciated. In the *Ladies' Home Journal* for April, 1918, there was a striking short story, by James F. Dwyer. It was entitled "The Little Man in the Smoker." The discussion in a Pullman smoker had turned upon America's preparedness for the part she was called upon to play in

the war. One member of the party had expressed rather uncomplimentary opinions as to America's military powers. A little man in the corner, after listening to the un-American exponent of America's military weakness, finally gets the floor, and in a quiet voice tells his own story:

" 'I am a Swede; so is my wife. We came to New York in 1889. I couldn't speak English, neither could my wife... My oldest boy, Christian, was born in the basement of that house on One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Street. So were my second son, Sigurd, my youngest boy, Henrik, and my daughter, Hilda. When Christian was old enough to go to school, I took him 'round to Public School No. 186 on One Hundred and Forty-fifth Street. I saw the principal, a nice man. He took Christian and me into his office, and he questioned me..."We will do the best for little Christian, and when your other children are big enough to come to school, we will look after them too."

" 'Gentlemen, that schoolmaster kept his word. My children were everything to me, and he had them in his care for nearly half of their waking time...I learned to speak correct English from my son Christian. He taught my wife and me. I learned from him of George Washington, of Abraham Lincoln, of Nathan Hale, of Grant, of a thousand others. He got it at the school, got it from the principal who didn't care whether I was a janitor or a barrister, and whose only duty it was to teach boys to be good citizens.

" 'They made my boy, Christian, flag bearer at the assembly exercises...I went over one morning and saw him, and I cried...Christian graduated, gentlemen. He won a medal for history, my Christian, and I was there, there on

the platform when it was presented to him...Listen to me a little while, and I will tell you what this country, this United States, has done to prepare for war! I cried that evening. Yes, sir, I am not ashamed to acknowledge it, I cried! It was a gold medal presented by that commissioner that I had been introduced to, and my son had got it. My son, Christian! And I was a Swede, a laboring man from Upsala, who was working as a janitor. That commissioner wrote Christian to come and see him...My boy, Christian Sigbold, earned last year over thirteen thousand dollars! He is a junior partner in the firm he went to work for as an office boy that day.

" 'My second boy, Sigurd, also won a medal when he graduated...My boy, Sigurd, became a doctor, helped by the principal. He is a specialist. He is young, but he is well known...A special train took him from New York to Chicago a few months ago, so that he could perform an operation on a millionaire's baby. Henrik also became a flag bearer in that school...Strong as a young bull he grew, and when he walked down the aisle carrying the silk flag, you would think he was a young Crusader. He graduated and became an architect.'

"The train was slowing up. 'This stop is the nearest station to one of Uncle Sam's biggest camps,' continued the little man, 'and I have three sons and a son-in-law in that camp, sir. The old country has not been asleep. She's been preparing, but preparing in a different way from the Huns.' "[1]

That is not an over-colored picture. It is well for us to remember that millions of boys and girls have been drinking

[1] Reprinted from "The Little Man in the Smoker," by the courtesy of the Paget Literary Agency.

in the love and devotion to democracy and freedom in our public schools. The greater reason for making them safe for democracy and keeping them free from exploitation!

But now we must consider the extension of that influence. The night-school for teaching English places within reach of the ambitious the opportunity which has been denied them of fitting themselves for larger things. But the night-school must be popularized and humanized. It cannot be the same kind of a school as the day-school. It is a school for tired working young men and young women, and needs to be bright and cheerful, fresh and stimulating. We have abundant testimony to the effect that for lack of these elements it often falls short of even ordinary efficiency. The uniform testimony brought out by every investigation of night-schools for the foreign-born emphasizes the fact that long hours of toil prevent the great majority from availing themselves of this privilege. Syracuse, Rochester, Cleveland, and Detroit have been setting new standards for the extension of this privilege and making the night-school truly worth while. They have had men of vision and imagination to direct, and the boards have followed their lead.

The extension of the school influence is bringing the life-giving spirit of our democracy within reach of foreign-born mothers. The kindergarten, with its outreach to the mother in the home, lays siege to that citadel of conservatism. The extension and enlargement of this service is of prime importance. The appointment of a school nurse who can form a connecting link between the foreign home and the school is a practical measure which has been inaugurated in Syracuse. In Syracuse, also, a very happy plan has been conceived. Election Day,

which is a holiday, is made the occasion for getting parents to the school-building. Interesting exercises are held there, including an educational address in the native tongue of the parents represented. Ingenious teachers have wrought out many practical and highly successful measures for overcoming inertia, timidity, and other barriers which separate parents of foreign birth from the influences of the public school. Here is ample scope for the genius of loving minds and hearts.

The school that is inspired by a lofty vision of its function as a radiating center of Americanism will not confine its activity to instruction in what might be called the "technique" of citizenship but will be alive to every opportunity to diffuse the American spirit throughout the community. With the possible exception of a wide-awake church, the public school is the greatest dynamic force in our democracy.

The Public Forum. The influence of centers like Cooper Union in New York City for many years, the Ford Hall Forum in Boston, the Chicago Commons under Graham Taylor, and the multiplication of these centers of public education and discussion represent a popular educational agency which is essential in a growing democracy. The seething spirit of freedom, newly born in the hearts of multitudes who have never known the privilege of free speech and open discussion of public affairs, may alarm the older American element, but it is the school of democracy. The many clubs, societies, and *"sokols"* in the centers of immigrant population, have offered a vent for the pent-up passions, questionings, suspicions, aspirations, and strivings which have stirred the minds and hearts of the suppressed races, who have found here the chance to grow. The profound philosophy which is expressed, the

idealism, the deep knowledge of life, of history, and of the issues involved, the frank and fearless facing of facts revealed; these amaze the average American who may participate in these discussions.

Other Centers of Americanization. The far reaching educational plans of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. deserve conspicuous mention and measureless honor. They have been pioneers in extending into shops and mills the classes in English and in citizenship. The beautiful idea set forth in the Neighbors' League and the program of the National Americanization Committee are designed to meet needs which some of the public agencies cannot. The social settlements, the public and branch libraries, and kindred social agencies have been dynamic centers of Americanization. They have been the recruiting stations of some of the most ardent lovers of America. The influence which has emanated from them cannot be measured. Here is a typical instance: A young Russian Jew came as an immigrant to the city of Cleveland. He located in a colony on the lower part of Woodland Avenue where the topic he heard most discussed was the opportunity that America offered for making money. He was shocked by the frank recognition of graft and dishonesty. He found corruption in the petty courts and the debauching of justice on the part of petty officers. He was in a fair way to being ruined, when he was induced to enter one of the clubs or classes at Hiram House, the settlement which has served that colony for a number of years as an interpreter of our best American ideals. He found there a new world opened to him and was introduced to the America of his dreams. He became an eager seeker after the best Amer-

ica has to offer. In time he entered the law school of Western Reserve University, became one of the judges of the police court of Cleveland, and succeeded, measurably, in cleaning up graft and in checking the exploitation of defenceless foreigners. He is one of the recognized leaders in all social and public affairs of that city and one of the judges on the bench of the city court.

The influence of hundreds of community centers is accounted for, not by the organization or the building and equipment, but by the personality of the men and women who have lived their unselfish and devoted lives within the reach of the thousands who would otherwise have remained wholly ignorant of the American spirit.

Socially Minded Industry. The great majority of our immigrant population, during the early period of their residence in the country, are manual laborers, and of that group by far the greatest part are employed by industrial concerns.

Booker T. Washington used to say that there is a great difference between "working and being worked." The difference is purely psychological, but it is profound and elemental. There is a fairly well-established notion that American industry has often used the foreigner when it needed him and fired him when it had no further use for him. Many of our industrial concerns have taken a different view of the situation and have had enough imagination to see these men not as so many "hands" but as men. All the profits of the business are not reflected in the balance-sheet. The great hives of industry are the training-schools in American democracy. The American employer of immigrant

labor is in a position to make or break the spirit of these men, to win them for our best Americanism or to alienate and embitter them. There are difficulties in the way and many hard problems to solve, but the employer who takes a vital interest in the men that he employs can do more to interpret America than all the teachers in night-schools in the country.

I wish it were possible to compile and publish a list of the socially minded concerns which have grasped the significance of their opportunity in this direction. It would be a long list and a growing one. I know personally of one fine illustration of this spirit put into actual effect: The greatest producer of surgical supplies in the East, if not in the whole country, employs several hundred workers, both men and women. The company employs a man of exceptional qualifications whose chief business it is to cultivate personal relations with these employees. He is their warm personal friend, their wise counsellor and able defender against exploitation and fraud. He has visited the various sections of Europe from which these people have come and has an intimate first-hand knowledge of the background of their lives. He is a Christian man and has been able to bring to his duties a high spirit of service. His shrewd knowledge of human nature and his native good sense have made him a valuable asset to all concerned. He is respected in the court, feared by designing and selfish interests, loved and trusted by the hundreds of people whom he has befriended, and has repaid the company many times over for the slight expense his service represents.

A man of large commercial influence who often talks over

these matters with me has come to feel deeply his responsibility for the men in his employ. Some of the practical ways in which he has been able to help them are by advising them regarding the investment of their savings, helping them to acquire property for their family, and manifesting a warm personal interest in their general welfare. This firm of Christian men has definitely come to feel that the sphere of largest influence and service for Christ is afforded in business associations.

We have nothing but praise for the welfare work of industrial concerns which are sincerely interested in human rights and justice. Many foreign-born workmen, however, have come to feel that it is a cheap substitute for justice and a cloak for pitiless greed, and is used to cover a multitude of sins. Welfare work must represent sincere interest in everything that concerns the well-being of the foreign-born. The two qualities most essential and the most difficult to secure are imagination and patience. The corporations which have these sufficiently developed will provide for the education of their employees, help them to become more efficient, and discuss with them the wide reach of interests in which these workingmen are profoundly concerned. But first of all there must be established as fundamental an unshakable respect for human rights and faith in democracy.

American Home Life. The most potent influences are the most natural ones. Society is not affected by institutions and organizations, by direct and conscious efforts, so much as by the normal, unconscious, and direct influences which emanate from the home life of a community and radiate from dynamic personalities. The withdrawal of

these potent assimilating influences from contact with the foreign-born has necessitated the social settlement. The Christian home life of missionaries and other Christian residents on the foreign mission field has done as much for evangelizing heathen lands as the interpretation of the Gospel by public preaching. Un-Christian foreign residents, some globe trotters, and other unworthy representatives of Christian lands have by the same power done much to retard the evangelization of foreign lands.

The influence of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Robins in the ward in Chicago in which they chose to live is an illustration of what a Christian home can mean to a city ward. I have been told of a fine Christian woman in the city of Buffalo, who, instead of withdrawing before the incoming flood of Italians which surrounded her home, decided to remain and live her life among them as an interpreter of Christian America. She died a few months ago, and the pastor who officiated at the funeral service in that home told me what a profound impression her life had left upon that community and of the evidences of love and esteem that were manifest at the community funeral.

One of the most striking illustrations of the influence of the typical American home came to my knowledge from a friend in Chicago who has told it often as his personal experience of Americanization. He came from Bohemia and had lived for some time in Chicago. He was critical of American manners and customs, especially of political corruption, of the abuse of public office, and of the whole sordid business of our city politics, as it was revealed to him for the first time. The man was an idealist, of a philosophical

mind; he was a keen observer of men and a student of history, with especial reference to practical democracy. He resolved never to become a citizen of the United States. The Bohemian, German, and Polish papers, all of which he read, never represented America in any other light; their stock in trade was criticism of American political and social life. After three years' residence in Chicago, he lectured on Austria before a group of Americans. One of them asked him why he did not become an American, and he publicly denounced American democracy as inefficient and corrupt. After a time he had occasion to visit a small city in Michigan and was entertained for the first time in what he calls "an Anglo-Saxon home." He was profoundly impressed by the life of that home, the freedom of opinion, the intelligent interest in public affairs, the Christian atmosphere, and the mutual love and respect of all the members of the family. He thought that this must be an exceptional family, but when his host took him to call upon several neighbors and he found the same spirit elsewhere, his eyes were opened. The city was a "dry" town, and the moral order was something he had never seen before. The jail was unused. The people did not now take the trouble to lock their doors when they left the house. All the way back to Chicago he pondered the amazing revelation of an America which he had never suspected existed. He came to the conclusion that he had not discovered America until that day. Now he is one of the most ardent Americans, has rendered invaluable service to the government and the cause of Christian democracy, and is in the confidence of some of the foremost men in the country.

The problem of Americanization is the problem of bridging the chasm between genuine Americans and these potential Americans.

The Christian Church. In the preceding chapter, references were made to churches which use a foreign language in their worship and in the proclamation of the Gospel. It would be impossible to estimate the value of thousands of these churches and of their contribution to the enrichment of the life of America. The weakness of the program of many churches composed of members of foreign birth and antecedents is in its limited range and scope. It would be wholly unjust to make a sweeping condemnation of all pastors of foreign birth and all churches of foreign language because some have not fully measured up to their opportunity. The same would have to be said of many English-speaking churches. Those who know anything of the moral dangers to which multitudes of foreign young men and young women are exposed, the lure of the gay lights, the relaxed standards, and the withdrawal of the restrictions of old-country life in the freedom of America know that these churches have been a conserving social and moral influence.

There is grave danger that, in the revulsion of feeling and reaction growing out of the disclosures of the un-American attitude and the resistance to American influences which have characterized some foreign-language churches, we shall go to an opposite extreme and underestimate this potent influence for good which is at work among the people of foreign birth in the country. What we need is a re-study of the problem in the light of our recent experiences, and the adoption of a forward-looking and constructive program,

for these churches and for the missionary work, through which our Christian ideals and influence are being extended to those sections otherwise untouched. We must confine ourselves here to one aspect of this matter. We are considering the value of the church and missionary activities as an influence for promoting assimilation. It is of fundamental importance that we keep steadily in mind the fact that the foundations of democracy are in the character of the people. We cannot have a democracy on paper. It must be grounded in the moral character of free people. It is the business of the church to vitalize the moral life of the community and interpret democracy in spiritual as well as in social terms.

American conceptions of religion and the place which it holds, the part which it plays in our social and civic life, is so radically different from the conception which is entertained by the vast majority of immigrants that we cannot interpret America without interpreting the American conception of religion. The union of church and state, with the whole set of implications which are involved in that relationship, is the inherited conception of organized religion which the great majority of the immigrant population brings to America. This preconception is a positive barrier to Americanization. The violent interference with religious services, which has often occurred in our foreign colonies, are but a reflection of this imported and un-American idea of religious tyranny. Ignorance and superstition, blind and unquestioning acceptance of authority, do not comport with American conceptions of religious liberty. Intelligent freedom of inquiry and liberty of choice, which are absolutely

essential to vital religion, are likewise essential to the exercise of democratic responsibility. The atheism and religious infidelity which have been imported into America from Europe represent the reaction against the religious tyranny and oppression of centuries. However, the movement seems not to have been able to flourish in the atmosphere of American freedom. It perishes because it has nothing to feed upon and fails in propagation. Progress cannot be made upon the basis of denials and negations. A banker in Chicago resented the activity of an influential evangelical minister. The banker protested that he had spent $16,000 the previous year to propagate atheism and he felt that the propaganda was being defeated by the large-minded and well-organized work of my friend. Professor Steiner also bears witness to the unfriendliness of our American atmosphere to atheism.

Wholesome religious influences also make for higher standards of living. I recall a mission station, located in one of the congested sections of a great city, where the highest rate of juvenile delinquency in the city was registered and the mortality was alarming. As rapidly as families came under the influence of the mission and united with the parent church with which it was connected, they straightway removed to other more desirable sections of the city. Where it is not possible to remove, one of the first evidences of a new religious experience is the transformation of living conditions.

What we have been considering here is the indirect influence upon Americanization that is exerted by a vigorous religious life in the missions and churches among our foreign-speaking peoples. We must consider briefly the direct in-

fluences of these institutions, organized and designed to promote assimilation and offering a channel through which the American spirit may be transmitted. The first requisite for making these churches effective agencies for assimilation is an effective leadership. The pastor or missionary should, of course, be a citizen who regards himself as an interpreter of the American spirit, as well as an interpreter of Christ. We have too often been obliged to employ as the leaders of these groups untrained men of very little general education who had very little knowledge of English. Churches in foreign-speaking communities really require more than ordinarily intelligent and capable leadership. Then, too, the building equipment has more than frequently been meager, and our program confined to religious services of worship and personal evangelism, with no provision for education and community service. These churches and missions must become the cultural centers of the community life. The skill and statesmanship which has characterized successful foreign mission enterprises must be enlisted for the wide-reaching task of interpreting Christianity and the American spirit in terms that are not only comprehensible but also comprehensive.

Guiding Principles. In summarizing our study of the constructive forces that may be relied upon to promote assimilation, it is important that we recognize clearly certain well-defined principles.

The indirect and unconscious influences are the most potent. There is a real danger that in our awakened enthusiasm for forwarding Americanization we shall attempt to do violence to the psychology of the foreign-born. Men

cannot be bludgeoned into loving America or into possession of the American spirit. Too much self-consciousness is unhealthful. High-pressure revival methods cannot make up for past neglect. Fervid oratory and argument cannot be relied upon to achieve what must come in natural ways.

Everything which enhances the welfare of the immigrant community, family, or individual, promotes assimilation. Prosperity, the consciousness of progress, self-respect, and well-being, are all in favor of assimilation. They are as essential as the element of temperature in chemical reactions. When the temperature is at the correct point, certain reactions may be expected which cannot take place below that point.

Contact with wholesome American influences is absolutely necessary. Concrete illustrations of the American spirit, the personification of that spirit, can be better understood than volumes of profound works or expositions of the doctrines of democracy. The natural, unstudied, unofficial contacts are the most potent. As an example of normal American life, a home surcharged with the social spirit is worth more than any settlement.

Appreciation of what the immigrant has to contribute is a psychological expedient. The immigrant brings to America much that America needs, and he will receive what we have to give if we prize what he has to offer. For example he can enrich our dull grayness with his brighter color and his love of music. His fine craftsmanship is needed as a rebuke to some of the cheap and tawdry machine-made stuff which we turn out in carload lots and which must have an unwholesome influence on the men who do the work.

I think of the happy and possibly unexpected result that followed an exhibit of Italian art and handwork. A woman's club of Mount Vernon, New York, arranged for a loan exhibition in the public library and gathered some very fine reproductions of Italian art: sculpture, painting, needlework, costumes. It was open for a week and was visited by hundreds of the residents of the city. The Italian population mingled freely with others and seemed overjoyed that the things they loved and admired were appreciated by the American people as well. The Fourth of July pageant in New York City in 1918 must have impressed every observer with the wealth of beauty and imagination with which the various racial groups may enrich America, if only they do not repress and discard those elements of their heritage which we have lacked. If we can rid ourselves of our foolish conceit and invite and welcome what our immigrants have to offer, we shall not only enrich our national life but more easily and quickly win acceptance for the American ideas which they should assimilate.

We must have patience and maintain an unwavering faith in the genius of our nation and also in the capacity of newcomers to become genuine Americans. We have repeatedly urged patience, and it is sorely needed now. In view of all our past achievements we do not need to lose faith. Miss Abbott makes a cogent comment concerning the need of patience and time in getting people to think together: "We should probably rather seriously disagree among ourselves about what these fundamental Americanisms are; but I suppose most of us would like to class religious toleration as one of them. When we remember how long, judged

by this standard, it took to Americanize our Puritan ancestors, it is a surprise to find that people believe that such principles can be taught by ten lessons in Americanism."[1]

If we despair now and resort to coercion or pressure, we may relieve our own feelings, but we shall make progress very slowly and have eventually to retrace our steps. There is no such thing as Americanization in twelve lessons, or even in twenty-four. It is necessary to give instruction, to teach English, to interpret America's aim and spirit, but the daily round of neighborhood life, of the working hours, of contact with America, are also indispensable. These things cannot be organized. They must be the natural expression of the social spirit, which we must strengthen and enrich.

We need to cultivate a spirit of humility. We must recognize frankly that America has not always been true to her ideals and that we have made many mistakes. We do not relish being told this by people who came from other lands. I have writhed as I have heard men of foreign birth say the very things about America that I have said. We all prefer to say them first and not have them said by another. We will do well to acknowledge that no one is more sensitive to our faults than we are. This attitude is wholesome and honest and disarms any suspicion of national self-righteousness and Phariseeism.

[1] Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, p. 235.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRICE OF NATIONAL UNITY

THIS is nothing less than a "second chance," a national Day of Grace divinely given.

The war has so nearly stopped the flow of the immigrant stream that, for the first time in a generation, we have been given a much-needed breathing spell. Also, as we have seen, the war has furnished the supreme test of our policy, disclosed its defects, and revealed the weak points in the alignment and coordination of those agencies and forces upon which we must rely. We have experienced an arrest of attention, a profound shock to our sensibilities. We have awakened from our national indifference, from the tendency to evade responsibility and put our faith in luck.

But the deepest significance of this Day of Grace is to be found in the fact that in some miraculous way society and long-established institutions seem suddenly to have become plastic, almost fluid. Conservatism has melted, and minds that seemed hermetically sealed to new ideas have mysteriously opened at some secret "sesame" which has worked a magic transformation. We are not so foolish as to imagine that human nature has suddenly and unconsciously been regenerated and that selfishness has been transfigured into saintliness. Many of our mistakes and follies in the past have been due to ignorance and preoccupation, to narrow views of history, and to a wrong philosophy of racial super-

iorities and priorities. It is in a new openness of mind on the part of multitudes of people who really love their fellow men and are devoted to their country that we place our faith. Upon their enlistment we base our hope of achieving national unity. We can realize this hope, if we are willing to pay the price, but we cannot realize it on any other terms. It will cost us much, but it will be worth all it costs. If we do not falter, those who come after us will rise up and call us blessed. This "second chance" has been given us to make for our children and children's children, a better world in which to live.

National Morale. We have consistently maintained that Americanization is not a war issue but is related to the entire process of growing national solidarity and deepening self-consciousness. A far-seeing program of reconstruction must give a prominent place to the development and co-ordination of those agencies which promote assimilation. Not only have we gained a sharper definition of the essential issues and a truer estimate of the potencies of the agencies at work, but we have experienced an immense re-enforcement of the national morale. During the past four years we have learned that, before battles are won or lost on the field of Mars, they are lost or won in the souls of the army and of the nation. Morale is what Bismarck would have called an "imponderable," but we know that it is an asset of supreme importance. In the conflict of the forces which are contending for mastery in America, national unity will win the victory only upon the condition that we are able to maintain the high morale of this hour of triumph.

Without attempting anything like an analysis of our na-

tional mind, let us consider some of the facts that bear directly upon this problem.

A New National Faith. Professor Usher says, "A nation becomes...a great factor in human development as much by the splendor of its ideals as by reason of its actual achievement."[1] One great benefit to us, as a people—perhaps the greatest benefit following the war—is a new-born faith in ourselves as a nation.

This experience is not by any means peculiar to America; Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as some older countries, have had the same experience. But while it is not peculiar to America it is a new experience for us. Nothing like this has ever come to us before. We have endured a reputation for boastfulness which possibly we do not deserve. We talk more freely than some other nations. People who talk a good deal are naturally liable to say more foolish things than people who do not talk so freely. We knew our power in a general way, but we had never experienced a consciousness of moral and spiritual power in any degree commensurate with what has come to us in this self-discovery. If we have been accorded a place of great moral influence, no one has been more surprised than ourselves. The behavior of our army and navy, the work of our food commission and of the national service agencies, have all been such as to make us justly proud, while detracting not one whit from the appreciation due to England, France, Italy, and other heroic allies, such as Belgium and Serbia.

It is, however, the qualities we have discovered in ourselves, our capacity to rise to lofty heights and our sustained determination upon a volunteer basis of sacrifice, that have re-

[1] Usher, *The Rise of the American People*, p. 3.

vealed a unity of spirit and a moral quality that gives us an immense new hope for the future. We have loved America and believed in America, but we feel that we have risen to a higher plane and can never, must never, allow ourselves to be content with material prosperity. Although we have not attained our ideals, the splendor of them has meant the moral reenforcement of the world in the supreme hour of its crisis. We may, therefore, go forward, with humility but with fresh courage, to undertake the completion of our task, the building of a nation which all the world will trust and respect.

A New International Sympathy. It would hardly be possible to overestimate the mental and moral value of the lessons which we, as a people have learned through the events of the past few years.

There have been but few people in the country who possessed the "international mind." We were not in the habit of thinking in international terms, because we had lived so much apart from other nations. That part of our population which could afford to travel abroad has, as a rule, kept to the beaten lines. Our tourists have not been concerned particularly with the social and political problems of the peoples among whom they tarried but for a few days. They did not grasp the significance of the Czecho-Slovaks, the aspirations of the Poles, the Rumanians, the Jugo-Slavs, or the status of the Italians in Austria. The immigrants who came represented to us only curiously different kind of folk, with weird tastes for garlic, a tendency to riot, and an unfamiliarity with American manners which suggested that they must be backward people. What their presence meant

gave us little concern; or, if it troubled us at all, it was because of what they meant to us, not of what America might mean to them. But through our experience in the war, we have had a liberal education in the aspirations of peoples we never before understood; an appreciation of the tragedy, the struggle, and the heroic persistence which has enabled them to cling to their dreams of freedom. We have discovered a sense of kinship which we had never suspected. What America has meant to these foreigners, we have but just discovered. We find that here in America the fires of liberty have been kept burning until the hour of destiny struck. Then these men, who seemed so stolid and strange, were transformed over night into patriots and heroes, and for the first time we saw them in their true light. To-day the Stars and Stripes are displayed everywhere in Czecho-Slovakia. It is to America these people pay their tribute of affection and gratitude, not simply for shelter but for sympathetic understanding and aid in their supreme hour.

This experience must prove of immense value to our national morale. We must keep the altar-fires still burning and cherish undimmed the new-found sense of kinship. By the same token, we must think in different terms of those who are still with us and who have not yet attained their dream.

Broadening Experience for Our Soldiers. More than 2,000,000 American men have been in France. Still other thousands have been in other lands. The Y. M. C. A. and Red Cross workers, as well as numberless other people who have never before crossed their state line, have been given the immensely valuable experience of travel, of meeting

other races and having their minds opened to contacts and to most rewarding fellowship. It has been an enlightening experience, which can but leave us with more catholicity of spirit and a broader outlook upon life.

Next in point of importance to our new faith in America, we should place the new status of the foreign-born American. He has marched and fought, and his comrades have died under the flag of his adoption. He has earned a new respect, and the nation accords it to him with characteristic American generosity and appreciation. And alongside the admiration of his fellow citizens we must place the reflex influence of service upon the man himself.

We have learned that the basis of our interest and love is not so much gratitude for what others do for us as consciousness of what we have done for them. To have fought for America must give these men a new and more vital interest in America, a new sense of proprietorship in the land under whose flag they have fought and in whose glory they have a full share. The casualty lists which appeared in the daily papers gave ample evidence of the admixture of many racial strains in the American Army. The city of Bridgeport observed Thanksgiving Day, 1918, by a community service and published a list of the men of that city who had given their lives in the struggle for democracy. It was a striking exhibit of the racial variations that had been blended to make the Army of Liberty. There hangs in my office a service flag with one large star, which represents 875 Americans of Italian blood who went into the service from the churches and missions fostered by one home mission society. One American Italian Protestant church in Syracuse fur-

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Disabled American Soldiers, who do not speak English, are being taught the language of their country in the U. S. Hospitals.

nished from its membership thirty-six men for military service, of whom twenty-nine were in the American Army and seven in the Italian Army. Of this number, four paid the last full measure of devotion; two were gassed and lost their speech; and one was decorated for distinguished service. Besides, those who remained at home did their full duty in the various drives for the Liberty Loans, the Red Cross, and other causes. The fellowship in military service with native-born men, the training in English, and the consciousness of being accorded recognition as Americans have given birth to a sense of oneness with America which many years of ordinary life in normal times could hardly have produced.

New Optimism. By common consent we are entering upon a period of peace and of normal activity in which we expect a thorough-going re-study of our social relationships. We hope that, in accordance with the experience of all modern nations after a great war, it will be the dawn of a new era in industry and commerce. The impressive thing about our present hope is the spirit of it. Something akin to a spiritual revival has aroused the national conscience. Nothing seems impossible. No hoary conventions claim respect or consideration. There is an almost youthful disregard of the difficulties to be overcome and the practical details to be taken into account. We are a nation with a "heavenly vision" that has gripped our imagination, with an imperative call that will not be denied. This spiritual exaltation must not be lost. It must be steadied and given concrete tasks at once. It is the compensation for the suffering and anxiety of the era which has closed, and it gives us the courage and determination to obey our heavenly vision

and put solid foundations under that city celestial which cometh down out of heaven from God, the city which eager hearts expect.

Practical Considerations. We are sure no one can justly charge that in this study we have ignored well-established facts and tendencies or have shut our eyes to stern realities. We have not, however, lost sight of the significant fact, which certainly ought to carry weight, that those who know the people of foreign birth and antecedents most intimately and who, therefore, are in a position to form an opinion which has full value believe in them and are full of confidence in the eventual victory. The task before us, as it is defined in our minds, is one of bridging chasms, establishing right relations, and demonstrating to the people of good-will the practical possibility of doing the thing which needs to be done. We need to keep in balance these two essential elements: national idealism and the practical aspects of the situation with which we must deal. Our ideal of national unity is not to be achieved by sentimentalists or theorists. We must have the courage to face all the facts and the faith to keep our ideals.

Patience. No ceremony or ritual, no waving of a fairy wand, can make a boy into a man. We cannot ignore the successive stages through which one must pass before becoming a full-fledged American. Even with perfect conditions at every stage, this is a process which inevitably requires time. The present temper of the popular mind, as well as that of some people in very responsible positions, is that of unreasoning impatience. Such a spirit positively refuses to recognize the fact that Americanization is an educa-

tional process, a spiritual process, and involves not only the knowledge of the English language but a deep understanding of the spirit of America. One element of the price we must pay is patience. As practical idealists, let us rely with firm faith upon the potency of our national spirit and ideals. If our conception of an American is the true one, we must realize the practical necessity of reliance upon spiritual forces. One cannot grow an American soul over night or in a year. We must not lose faith in spiritual forces and processes.

Cooperation. We must find a way to enlist the immense reserves of good-will and the volunteer service of private citizens and neighbors, the people in responsible official positions, the socially minded men and women who help to create public opinion and shape public sentiment. We must recognize that this is not a task for professional social workers or salaried missionaries. They are very necessary, but we cannot shift the responsibility from the shoulders of society to the hearts and minds of these devoted specialists. The thing most needed, perhaps, is guidance; practical and sane suggestions as to ways in which people may help. The program of Americanization that is going to win is the program that is most natural, simple, and human, and the least self-conscious and advertised.

And may we frankly recognize this other fact: there must be a closer coordination of forces. The organizations which are usually distinguished as "social" and those denominated "religious" must learn to respect one another and work together. The task is not a monopoly of any committee or group; it is not a matter for the Council of National Defense alone, or even of the government. It is the common task of

all. We may adapt the words of Livingstone in which, discussing the African slave trade, he invoked the blessing of God upon any agency which would enlist to heal that "open sore of the world." So, too, we must recognize that Americanization is neither a sectarian nor a partisan service, but a great national undertaking that should enlist every element of good-will. Just as our various "war drives" made a place for all, so we must cooperate in furthering every sane, sound, and constructive effort to achieve national unity.

Who Is My Neighbor? The community is a microcosm, a little world in itself. It is the nation on a smaller scale. We should more properly say the nation is only an enlarged community. It is the aggregate of all the local communities which comprise it. The measure of the national spirit, therefore, is the measure of the community spirit. The community is the unit with which we must concern ourselves. The local community is but a cross-section of the nation.

Our emphasis must be upon the community, and our endeavor must be to strengthen and enrich the community spirit, because that is our natural point of contact. We are more responsible for our community than any one outside can be, and more responsible for our own than for any other community. Our interest in some other community cannot serve as an excuse for any neglect of our own. Many of us are troubled with hypermetropia. We can see conditions at a distance which are desperately wrong, but we often have a blind spot to similar conditions which exist next door to us. The presumptions are always in favor of our duty being near at hand and in the natural relationships of life; the burden of proof is on the distant appeal. The test of

our sincerity in the larger affairs of the nation is to be found in our devotion to the community where we live.

In every community there is an immense amount of latent good-will which awaits an opportunity to find expression. One of the most tragic illustrations of unutilized power which should be released is the wasted spiritual energy in our urban communities. If we can introduce socially minded men and women to the common tasks and make them conscious of the common weal, we have taken the first steps toward the creation of a real community spirit. The advantage which has been gained during the war through community activities must not be allowed to lapse. After what we have experienced, no community enterprise should be allowed to languish for want of understanding and appreciation. The school, the library, the churches, all furnish points of community interest and must be held to the community point of view. The democratic value of the local Red Cross units can hardly be overestimated. If society teas and card parties shall now intrude and monopolize the energy that is so much needed for the period of reconstruction, we shall have lost much that we can ill afford to lose.

Love with Sincerity. A great opportunity for service appeals to the imagination and readily arouses the enthusiasm of people of fine impulses. There is a temperament, all too common among good people, which responds quickly to an appeal but is often unable to stand the strain of the long steady grind. As Professor Steiner says, "A whiff of garlic can put a whole army of such people to flight." Only genuine love for folk can meet the demands of the situation. The faddist will be sure to work havoc. The sentimentalist

will not last. Nothing but the love which is free from patronage or condescension will suffice.

I know of a young woman of wealth and social enthusiasm who was interested in working girls. On one occasion she helped to arrange a social evening for the entertainment of a group of young women who were employed in various trades. Good taste dictated the simple costume she wore, and so perfectly did she fit into the gathering that some one innocently asked her where she worked. Strange as it may seem, she was very much incensed and resented the stupidity that failed to distinguish her from the others present. She could not have sincerely loved these young women. They simply interested her, and she found a certain satisfaction in her efforts to "improve" them. But she was unwilling to make a sacrifice or identify herself with them in any vital way. Without genuine love, one is incapable of deep and genuine friendliness or of entering into sympathetic relationship with people who possess no special charm. I like to think of another young woman who stands in contrast with this make-believe working girl. She had nearly completed her art course and gave promise of a brilliant career. Needing a change on account of ill health, she went into employment in a large millinery establishment in New York City, expecting to remain but a few weeks. There were many other young women employed by the concern, and they represented the usual assortment of working-girl types. She was the one cultured Christian young woman in the group. She did not preach sermons, but she lived a life of rare unselfishness and loving comradeship. Her influence became a determining factor in the lives of the girls, and they came

to confide in her and to accept her standards as authoritative. By her quiet Christian grace and refinement, she transformed the atmosphere of the place. She remained for eight years, and when she retired a few weeks ago on account of her health, the firm pleaded with her to remain for the sake of her influence and offered her every financial inducement saying, "You can never know what your life has meant to the girls in our employ." The difference between genuine love and sentimental interest will mean the difference between success and failure, between seeing a thing through and giving up at the first rebuff. Raymond Lull, a brilliant young aristocrat who was the first missionary to the Mohammedan world, turned his back upon the life in which he was bred and sought to regain North Africa for Christ. Three times he was banished; a year and a half he lay in a foul dungeon in Algiers. When at last, in defiance of the edict of banishment, he returned, men dragged him out of the city and stoned him. As his life ebbed out, they saw his lips move, and leaning over to catch his words, they heard him whisper, "He that loves not, lives not, and he that lives by the Life can never die."

Wayside Democracy. He that goeth forth bearing precious seed, shall certainly return again bringing a harvest with him. We are very properly endeavoring to organize and standardize our program of Americanization. I would like to add to all the formal and organized propaganda a plea for the cultivation of the habit of friendliness. I want to urge the joy and zest of little ventures in wayside democracy. If we observe the number of chance contacts that are brought to us by the daily round, we will be amazed

to find that we who represent America to other peoples have innumerable opportunities for radiating the American spirit and interpreting, in concrete ways, the American ideals.

A friend of mine was waiting for a train in the South Station, Boston, when a Swedish immigrant girl inquired the way to the post-office. On being directed, she asked him if he would guard her suit-case until she returned. She was a long time in returning, and my friend was embarrassed. To wait meant not only to lose the train, but to miss an engagement. But to disappoint the naive faith of the young woman was to do inestimable damage to a priceless treasure. So he waited and was rewarded with the simple gratitude of the young woman and the consciousness of having saved her faith in human kindness. Josiah Strong used to say that an essential qualification of a missionary in the congested sections of our great cities was to be able to smile entrancingly in all languages. A woman of my acquaintance, passing on the street some Italian children with their arms full of flowers, smiled upon them as was her wont, for sheer love of children. A half block farther on she was overtaken by one of them, who had run back and thrust a rose into her hand, saying, "This is for you." A Christian woman was waiting for a train in the New Haven station one night, and noticing two perturbed women, a young woman and an older woman who appeared to be her mother, smiled kindly and invited the question, "Can you tell me when the next train goes to Boston?" Inquiry was made and the information given, and so the way was open for a further friendly word. The women proved to be Syrians, and they had gone to Bridgeport to attend a funeral. They were very tired

and would not reach Boston until the next morning. Suddenly the young woman took the lady's hand and said with great earnestness, "Oh, I wish I knew you!" They exchanged addresses and later exchanged letters, and each life was enriched by the little adventure in Christian democracy.

We have repeatedly emphasized the importance of recognizing that democracy is not simply a form of government, but the spirit of society. If we will cultivate the habit of friendliness and helpfulness in our daily contacts with those who are learning Americanism, we will become living lessons in the American spirit. As it is, we do not realize how often we confirm the suspicion in the minds of the foreign-born, that democracy is only a glittering generality.

"Nor knowest thou what argument
Thy life to thy neighbor's creed hath lent."[1]

To democratize and Christianize our contacts is to become a radiating center of the American spirit.

Organized Christianity. We have been dwelling upon the privilege and responsibility of individuals for service in behalf of national unity. It is fitting that we shall bring our study to a close by a frank and serious consideration of the privilege and responsibility of organized Christianity for the achievement of the ideal which we cherish. In the judgment of most thoughtful men, the church is the institution upon which we must rely to keep the moral and spiritual ideals of the nation pure and to vitalize the national conscience. Professor Masaryk, the president of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic, is reported to have said that the thing which most impressed him about American democracy was its moral power. Coming from a profound student of his-

[1] Emerson, *Each and All.*

tory and a man of keen philosophic mind, this observation is worthy of consideration. We know that there can be no sustained moral enthusiasm, no supreme spiritual earnestness that is not inspired by a profound religious faith. The church has a great part to play in maintaining the morale which will make the period of reconstruction fruitful of the greatest good.

A Test of Spiritual Health. Only a spiritually dead church could be indifferent to the social issues of this present fateful era. The test of the spiritual power of the church is the sympathy that is generated in behalf of those who need her ministry. As the church has a responsibility to maintain the moral vitality of the nation, so she has a responsibility to keep the social sympathies full and strong and true.

In his *Short History of the English People,* John R. Green, attributes to the Wesleyan revival a social regeneration which we may well recall whenever we are inclined to lose sight of the relation of religious life to social conditions. He says: "In the nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm, which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature ever since the Restoration. A yet nobler result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work, that the philanthropic move-

ment began. The Sunday-schools, established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century, were the beginnings of popular education. A passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindu and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the iniquity of the slave trade." He adds a fine tribute to the heroic work of John Howard, whose efforts in behalf of prison reform eventually cost him his life. John Howard lighted his torch at the same altar fires which the spiritual revival had kindled.

Recruiting Workers. The atmosphere of a spiritually and socially minded church is an atmosphere of service and heroic chivalry. The outlet for this impulse and devotion upon which the church has placed the greatest emphasis has been the Christian ministry and foreign missions. Yet from the church have gone forth social missionaries who have caught their inspiration for service and received their call, under the same divine spell. The church has lost much, whenever she has failed to recognize the consecration and devotion, the beauty and power, the moral grandeur and value to the kingdom of God, of the labors and lives of these social missionaries. I shall never forget the distress of a young woman, who told me of her keen disappointment that her church so utterly failed to appreciate what she was doing as a parole officer of the juvenile court in her city. She wanted to feel that in the social prayer service she might bring the problems and burdens of her work to the attention of the church, be refreshed and strengthened by their understand-

ing and sympathy, and find a place in their intercession. The church in its preaching service is generating service-power, sympathy, and unselfishness; yet it often fails to direct the awakened impulses and enlist the splendid abilities which are so greatly needed in the community. Failure on the part of some churches to consider the public welfare as a legitimate field of service accounts for the gulf which exists between organized Christianity in our churches and organized social agencies which are rendering service in the spirit of Christ, though sometimes with little cooperation or recognition on the part of the church. The service which is needed to make a sane Americanization program effective calls for an army of recruits of which the church must furnish her full share and inspire with the same lofty spirit of Christian service and sacrifice which has characterized so much of the history of the past four years.

Democracy a Christian Conception. The social and political conception of the rights of man, which we term democracy, is primarily a Christian conception. Before it was written into the Declaration of Independence, it was written into the constitution of the universe. Democracy is the Christian valuation of human personality. The Epistle of James is a revolutionary Christian document of the first century which proclaims boldly the democracy of the Christian church. Paul, writing to Philemon, calls Onesimus, a Roman slave, the "brother" of his master. The story of Christian missions in heathen lands is the story of the faith of the Christian church in the value of human personality. The Christian church was designed to be a working model of the society which Jesus calls the kingdom of God.

I made a tour of a neglected section of a city in the Middle West, not long ago, in conference with a local pastor who had upon his heart the burden of this district. The streets swarmed with little children; evidences of need abounded everywhere with no religious institution of any description. I asked if it were not possible to enlist the united support of all the local churches in a concerted affort to meet this need. He replied that he had endeavored to do so without success, and then told me that one of the pastors had declined to co-operate, saying, "I am on a still hunt for substantial people." A local church must choose between being an exclusive religious club, patronized by "substantial people," with a private chaplain for a minister, and being a church of Jesus Christ, who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." It cannot be both. The two conceptions are antagonistic, irreconcilable, and mutually exclusive. Some one is reported to have said, "The church can have the people any time it wants them, but to want them is a spiritual achievement of a very high order." Not only must the church proclaim her faith in democracy as a principle; she must consistently practise it. Nothing could be more un-Christian than a sentimental interest in distant peoples which fades away or turns to ice upon contact with similar people at home. We may test our love for the Chinese in China by our attitude toward the Chinese in America.

In referring to the part which the churches must play in the work of direct Americanization, I have had in mind the churches composed of people of foreign birth or their children. It would be a very grave mistake for us to conclude

that there is no direct service which English-speaking churches, composed largely of the older American elements, can render in this important undertaking of interpreting Christian ideals and our American spirit. While, in more clearly defined colonies in which they have settled, it is natural for immigrants to worship in churches composed almost wholly of their own countrymen, such churches by no means meet the religious needs of all the peoples of foreign birth, nor do they promise the best results for Americanization. These churches have perhaps the greatest service to render, or more accurately we may say that in all probability they will minister to the largest numbers; but we cannot rely upon them to do all of this work because they do not and cannot reach all the people who need to be ministered to. English-speaking churches by the thousands are not only passing by a great opportunity but in many instances are deliberately refusing to bear their share of the community responsibility. A casual canvass or survey of the parishes of many thousands of our English-speaking churches would disclose the fact that within the natural field of influence and the community reach of these churches there are many foreign-born residents and residents of the second generation of foreign antecedents, who are practically untouched by their ministry.

On the other hand, there are glorious and inspiring examples of English-speaking churches which have succeeded in rendering most helpful and rewarding service to these people. There are many thousand Christian Chinese in America, and the majority of them have been won to Christ through the English-speaking churches and Sunday-schools

and the personal service of individuals who have done intensive work in teaching English. There is a strong church in Connecticut which in one year baptized more than twenty Chinese, and among its membership are numbered some of the leading Chinese businessmen of that city. There is an English-speaking church in California which had, according to the latest report, eighteen Japanese members. They were won for the Christian faith by the personal service and loving intercession of one Christian woman. I shall never forget the personal testimony of a bright young Japanese who for two years had declined every invitation to attend her English Bible class and finally, when he could no longer resist, went away alone into the mountains to think over this amazing love and patience which would not be denied. When he had reached the conclusion that the explanation of this woman's persistence must lie in her Christian faith, he returned to town, procured a copy of the New Testament, and shut himself up in the seclusion of his room for a week in an earnest endeavor to discover the secret. At the end of that week he sought the pastor of the church of which this Christian woman was a member and asked for Christian baptism. When the pastor had explained the way of God more perfectly and satisfied himself as to the genuineness of the young man's Christian experience, he was received and later baptized. Among the eighteen Japanese members is a graduate of the Imperial University of Japan, and all of them are young men of parts and high promise. I have been deeply impressed with the fact that many of the capable leaders in the ministry who are serving our foreign-speaking congregations were converted in our English-

speaking churches. I am further impressed that they have, as a rule, an outlook and appreciation of fundamental Americanism which sometimes is missing when the contact with older Americans is lost or cannot be enjoyed.

The churches in the communities where there are foreign-born residents must be judged by their fruits. The barriers are strong and difficult to overcome, but they can be surmounted if there is sufficient love and faith and patience. A member of a foreign-speaking church in one of our cities complained not long ago that her neighbor, an American woman who belonged to the same denomination but to another local church, did not speak to her. It is not so much what occurs within the walls of the church building that will interpret Christ and the American spirit, as the everyday neighborliness and human kindness which seems to be and is the natural fruit of loving hearts.

The Mind of Christ. The church has this unique prerogative. She may speak for Christ. When the church reflects his mind and radiates his spirit, she renders the highest possible service to society. It is not necessary for the church to attempt to duplicate, or parallel, the work of such splendidly endowed and organized agencies as the various foundations, which have been conceived by public-spirited men and women and which have enlisted the best skill and talent in the task of making social studies and promoting social education. The church has the exalted privilege of interpreting, not the social philosophy of any particular school or party, but the mind of Christ. That mind which was in Christ was free from all subtleties or evasions, free from all compromises and expediencies. His was the spiritual

mind as reflected in his sense of values, in his certainty of spiritual realities, and his unfaltering reliance on spiritual forces. Jesus had the social mind. He had not only social sympathy and loved folks and the society of his fellows, but he gave to social obligations the authority of duty to God and made fidelity to them the final test of love to himself. He had the universal mind, above race and class prejudice. He included all men in his love and was content with nothing less than the whole world as the subject of his redemption. Many unreasonable demands are made upon the church, and she is called upon to bear much undeserved criticism and censure because of her failure to do this particular thing or that, for which advocates of various causes claim the official and organized support of the church. She is expected to foster every good cause and endorse every movement which promises to promote the public welfare. In reality this is an unintended tribute to the moral and spiritual leadership of the church. It is doubtless impossible to agree among ourselves as to just what official action the church or the churches should take on many of the vital social and political questions of the nation and the local community. But of one thing there can be no shadow of doubt nor note of disagreement. It is the prerogative of the church to speak for Christ with prophetic authority, and amid distracted counsels and cries of "Lo here!" or "Lo there!" she must confidently and steadily reflect and interpret the mind of Christ and radiate his life-giving spirit.

As a nation we are committed irrevocably to the separation of church and state; but that does not involve the divorcement of religion from the national life. In this

supreme hour in our history it is for the Christian church to interpret afresh our democracy and our destiny in accordance with the mind of Christ. In the need of the nation for men and women who will interpret its spirit and ideals aright, there is the call of a great opportunity to render service to the land we love. But above that, and more compelling, is the call of Christ in the humanity about us, to interpret him and impart his spirit. In the last analysis, what we call "the immigrant problem" is just the personal life problem of a great many very lovable men and women and boys and girls who are all about us and who need friends. And you and I are the ones who must meet that need. We are told that in the Alps there is a hospice dedicated to wayworn travelers, especially those who have lost their way. Those who serve and keep vigil are instructed that, whenever at any hour of the day or night a traveler may be brought in, they shall summon the Mother Superior with the words, "The Master is come and calleth for thee." St. Paul, who so truly reflects the mind and spirit of Christ, considered himself as a debtor to all men who needed what he had, just because he had what they needed. Let us, like him, reply to every need, "As much as in me lies, I am ready."

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